

MIGRATION IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD: PERSPECTIVES FROM GHANA



Editors

• Mariama Awumbila • Delali Badasu • Joseph Teye



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA READERS

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Edited by
Mariama Awumbila
Delali Badasu
Joseph Teye



MIGRATION READER SERIES

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Foreword

The University of Ghana is celebrating sixty-five years of its founding this year. In all those years, lecturers and researchers of the university have contributed in quite significant ways to the development of thought and in the analyses of critical issues for Ghanaian and African societies. The celebration of the anniversary provides an appropriate opportunity for a reflection on the contributions that Legon academics have made to the intellectual development of Ghana and Africa. That is the aim of the University of Ghana Readers Project.

In the early years of the University, all the material that was used to teach students came largely from the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe. Most of the thinking in all disciplines was largely Eurocentric. The material that was used to teach students was mainly European, as indeed were many of the academics teaching the students. The norms and standards against which students were assessed were influenced largely by European values. The discussions that took place in seminar and lecture rooms were driven largely by what Africa could learn from Europe.

The 1960s saw a major 'revisionism' in African intellectual development as young African academics began to question received ideas against a backdrop of changing global attitudes in the wake of political independence. Much serious writing was done by African academics as their contribution to the search for new ways of organizing their societies. African intellectuals contributed to global debates in their own right and sometimes developed their own material for engaging with their students and the wider society.

Since the late 1970s universities in the region and their academics have struggled to make their voices heard in national and global debates. Against a new backdrop of economic stagnation and political disarray, many of the ideas for managing their economies and societies have come from outside. These ideas have often come with significant financial backing channelled through international organizations and governments. During the period, African governments saw themselves as having no reason to expect or ask for any intellectual contribution from their own academics. This was very much the case in Ghana.

The story is beginning to change in universities in many African countries. The University of Ghana Readers Project is an attempt to document the different ideas and debates that have influenced various disciplines over many years through collections of short essays and articles. They show the work of Legon academics and their

collabo- rators in various disciplines as they have sought to introduce their research communities and students to new ideas. Our expectation is that this will mark a new beginning of solid engagement between Legon and other academics as they document their thoughts and contribu- tions to the continuing search for new ideas to shape our world.

We gratefully acknowledge a generous grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York that has made the publication of this series of Readers possible.

Ernest Aryeetey

Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana.

Legon, August 2013.

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INTRODUCTION

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Delali Margaret Badasu

Joseph Kofi Teye

In contemporary times, migration has assumed growing significance in the global agenda as its potential for economic and social development is increasingly acknowledged. Indeed it is now said that we live in an “age of migration”, as today more migrants are on the move, their journeys more complex, destinations more diverse and the characteristics of the actors more varied than ever before. In 2013, with approximately 232 million people (UN, 2013) currently residing outside their country of origin, an increase from 75 million in 1960 and 175 million in 2000, international migration is said to be at its historical zenith. The numbers of people on the move are even higher when internal migration, which is far more significant in terms of the numbers of people involved and perhaps even the quantum of remittances and its poverty reduction potential (UNDP, 2009) are added. Africans account for a growing proportion of migrants; with the numbers of African migrants increasing from 9 million to 25 million between 1960 and 2013 (UN Population Division, 2013). However for Africa, the number could be far higher, as many movements are undocumented or occur through clandestine routes, making accurate data on the phenomenon extremely scanty.

Although there is little sex disaggregated data available, data indicates that women now account for almost half of immigrants around the world. For Africa, the traditional regional pattern of migration that had been male-dominated is increasingly becoming feminized, with a significant share of migrants now made up of women who move independently to fulfil their own economic needs, and not simply joining a husband or other family members. Women are moving independently of men as skilled workers, entrepreneurs and traders which may provide women with new opportunities to strengthen their livelihoods and gain economic independence.

Furthermore from a period, when migration was perceived as mainly negative, embodying the “*brain drain*” and carrying away the skills of the continent, migration is now widely recognized as central to Africa’s development and for poverty reduction. Migration has the potential to contribute to sustainable development through remittances, skills and

knowledge transfer, investment, brain circulation and Diaspora networks. Several studies have highlighted the transfer of remittances and its role in improving livelihoods in migrant households and in the decision-making process (Black et al, 2003; Quartey, 2006; Addison, 2005). Thus migration is increasingly being seen as offering “new” channels and opportunities for sustainable development, as “*brain gain*” initiatives continue to contribute to the development of several African countries.

More recently, migration in Africa has taken on more complex shapes and patterns in response to processes of globalization which have brought in their wake economic and social changes. Globalization, enhanced by new communication technologies, has intensified the global movements of not only people, but also goods, ideas and cultural practices in the last few decades. With these flows and interactions associated with globalisation, new forms of migration have emerged that transcends the familiar dichotomies in migration analysis. Easy and efficient communication, cheaper travel costs, technology etc have made source and destination much less remote from each other, and have enabled constant circulation from a permanent base. From what used to be seen as a local phenomenon, links between source and destination countries have resulted in a transnationalism in which migration is no longer seen as only a localized process. Migrants are increasingly leading transnational lives, impacting the institutions that shape local economies and the environment both in their place of residence and in their home communities. Migration, though a strategy that aims at reducing life’s risks, also often creates vulnerabilities, especially for women and children which may constrain their well-being. However, migration is also one of the ironies of globalization, as enhanced mobility becomes a defining element of globalization, contradictory perspectives also emerge. While it is increasingly easy for capital, goods, ideas and cultural influences to move freely around the world, people, the other key factor of production, are less free to migrate particularly internationally. Thus globalization which theoretically breaks down state borders and facilitates the free movement of goods and capital, is occurring at the same time as developed countries increasingly close their borders to the free movement of people (Awumbila and Manuh, 2009; King et al, 2010).

Despite this, there is emerging consensus that migration has not been adequately contextualized and conceptualized, and is not very often understood as a central element in the recomposition of human society. The literature thus indicates that although migration is a phenomenon of

growing importance and a key aspect of socio-economic and cultural change in Africa, generally knowledge production for migration research and policy has not kept pace with this trend. A major obstacle to understanding the dimensions of migration in Africa is the lack of adequate data and relevant empirical work, as well as the lack of communication between researchers and policy makers which contribute to the gaps in our understanding on African migrations. Existing knowledge gaps pose considerable challenges and the unavailability of reliable and up to date data makes it difficult to integrate migration into development planning processes. In addition, official data on migration flows is patchy and poor while most of the studies often respond to the pre-set agendas of receiving countries.

The chapters in this reader series are therefore an attempt to fill the gaps in migration knowledge production, particularly from the perspectives of researchers in the global south and more specifically from Ghana. The papers presented indicate that although migration in Ghana is characterized by tremendous diversity as found elsewhere, there are also specificities which show clear changing trends. Several themes highlighted in the papers indicate that there are continuities as well as discontinuities in Ghana's migration landscape and requiring further research. The need for more studies from a historical perspective and multidisciplinary in nature is especially highlighted in order to better understand these migration patterns.

Part one is on contemporary migration patterns and trends in Africa and the policy frameworks that guide migration. **Awumbila** sets the tone, providing an overview of intra-regional migration in West Africa, drawing out the changing dynamics and flows that have culminated in contemporary migration patterns and highlighting the implications for ECOWAS migration policy. Awumbila argues that intra-regional migration represents an important livelihood strategy for poor households seeking to diversify their sources of income, but is also characteristic of the better off in the sub region. Therefore contemporary migration realities and dynamics indicates that West Africa cannot afford to ignore intra-regional mobility as the livelihoods of a substantial part of its citizens depends on intra-regional and intra-community migration. Still on the issue of migration patterns and flows, **Kwankye and Anarfi** examine the role of international migration in Africa's development and conclude that the ability to harness the demographic dividend presented by the on-going demographic transitions in many African countries, will depend on policies put in place by individual

countries to address the challenges that have so far been associated with international migration within the African region with a view to maximising its benefits while minimising its costs. To provide the context under which contemporary migration flows have occurred in Ghana, **Anarfi and Ababio** in Chapter Three take a historical approach arguing that although migration has always been a way of life in Ghana, and indeed over much of West Africa, the reasons why people migrate are not static. Faced with situations that border on survival, migration is sometimes the only logical and rational thing to do.

Benneh's chapter reviews the national legal and policy frameworks of Ghana and discusses the major challenges and concerns that require attention. Benneh concludes that despite the far-reaching impact of migration on several areas of national life, Ghana has no comprehensive national legal or policy frameworks on migration and there appears limited coherence in existing migration related laws and policies. Chapter five is on the key theme of Migration and the environment. **Teye** examines the relationship between contemporary migration patterns and environmental change in Africa. He notes that while it is difficult to separate environmental drivers of migration from socio-economic and political factors, both sudden-onset (eg. floods, storms) and slow-onset environmental processes (e.g. desertification, drought etc.) have contributed to out-migration in many parts of Africa. He concludes that while policy makers in Africa tend to focus on the negative consequences of population movement, migration can actually be an effective coping/adaptation strategy which can be employed to relieve pressure on environmentally degraded areas in Africa and thereby provide opportunities for enhancing the livelihoods of poor people. He concludes that planned and facilitated approaches to migration can help people move out of situations of vulnerability and protect the environment at destination areas.

Part two focuses on the key theme of migration, return, and social change in Ghana. **Darkwah and Badasu** argue that the process of migration has largely been determined by social factors and social settings at both origin and destination areas of migrants at global, regional and national levels. The social impact of migration and its processes, the authors indicate, take various forms in different settings. They conclude that migration and social change are intricately related influencing each other. **Asabir's** chapter on the migration of health professionals from Ghana examines its impact on efforts towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in

Ghana. He concludes that the resulting severe shortage of health professionals particularly in rural areas, heavy workload and poor working conditions among others have been major challenges for Ghana as it strives to achieve the three indicators of the MDGs that are health related. **Setrana, Asiedu, Tonah and Pijpers** in their chapter discuss the different theoretical perspectives on return migration and examine the suitability and relevance of these theories in understanding the Ghanaian situation. The chapter further evaluates the policies and programmes of the Ghanaian government, multilateral institutions and international NGOs that seek to promote return migration to Ghana as well as the welfare of returnees. They argue that successful reintegration into the local economy and into society depends largely on the ability of the return migrant to mobilise family and social networks both before and after return. The chapter concludes that despite the frequent complaints about the brain drain and the need to encourage Ghanaians abroad, particularly the skilled ones to return home, very few attempts have so far been made by the Ghanaian government and other non-governmental agencies to promote return migration.

Part three is on the more recent theme of migration, transnationalism and changing family and gender relations. **Awumbila and Torvikeh** set the pace in this section by providing a historical analysis of female migration in Ghana. They argue that although for women, migration has presented prospects for moving out of poverty through greater independence and economic opportunities, thereby empowering women; it could also lead to some disempowerment through the perpetuation or even accentuation of existing gender inequalities and unequal gender relations. They urge the need to mainstream gender into migration processes and outcomes as part of effective migration management strategies.

Transnationalism, which has introduced transnational practices which makes it possible for people to maintain multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (Vertovec, 1999: 447) and also enable migrants to be simultaneously engaged in both their home country as well as in other countries where they have lived, is one of the dynamics of contemporary migration patterns. In these transnational practices, gender and age become very important factors in managing relationships. Focusing on children of migrants in the UK who have been sent back to Ghana, **Asima** examines how the transnational caring relationships influence family relationships and the gender divisions of labour in the transnational social space, and their implications for gender

and intergenerational relations. **Adiku and Anamzoya** focus on reverse remittance behaviour among Ghanaian transnational couples arguing that the practice of sending money abroad should also be seen in the context of entrenched patriarchal norms which have remained resilient in the face of changing global trends. By engaging the broader cultural and gender perspectives in which such transfers take place, they add an important dimension to the remittances literature, which was hitherto focused on remittances narrowly as a one way transfer and their developmental impact.

Part four discusses conceptual and methodological issues in migration. **Kandilige's** chapter highlights the paradox of migrants being simultaneously perceived as agents for development and risks to national security. Among others, he concludes that the growing gap in North-South development inequalities and the existence of informal economies in developed countries that have high demand for the services of low-skilled labour are key structural factors that characterise contemporary migration system. He concludes that migration can neither be blamed for a lack of development, nor be expected to trigger development in generally unattractive investment environments, and therefore the need for a more nuanced conceptualization of the migration and development nexus from both sending and receiving countries' perspectives. **Badasu and Darkwah** examine migration research within the global context of development planning and practice, noting that it is a generally less investigated area. They argue that compared to two other components of population (fertility and mortality), there is dearth of research on migration issues. They note neglect of migration in global development planning and practice accounts for the apparent lack of inclusion of migration research in the MDGs. They suggest that inclusion of migration in the Sustainable Developing Goals (SDGs) and a number of initiatives that have been taken by several agencies and institutions may have improved the prospects of migration research.

Taken together, these chapters are an attempt to provide multi-disciplinary perspectives and contexts for discussing key issues in the contemporary migration landscape in Ghana and Africa in general. Rather than focus on migration as a problem to be solved, the chapters in general explore migration as an intrinsic part of the broader processes of structural change in Ghana and Africa, which could create opportunities for development if properly harnessed. It focuses on West Africa, using mainly Ghana as an example. Most of the authors are researchers and fellows of the Centre for Migration Studies, other relevant departments and institutes of the

university, as well as practitioners in the field of migration, such as from the Ministry of Health and the Ghana Immigration Service. They thus show the diverse range of expertise and experiences of authors. In considering migration from historical and multidisciplinary perspectives and contexts and connecting it to the contemporary world, this reader necessarily touches on issues and questions that should be of interest to migration researchers, students, policy makers, and practitioners and others interested in Ghana's development.

The Centre for Migration Studies (CMS), University of Ghana, was formally established in November 2006 to undertake research, teaching and training, capacity building, policy assessment and dissemination in the area of migration. Its key objectives include to:

- Co-ordinate past and current research activities on migration by faculties, institutes and centres.
- Undertake research activities on migration related issues from a multi-disciplinary and integrated approach.
- Promote migration studies at the graduate level through a multi-disciplinary approach.
- Advise on, and inform the formulation of a national policy on migration through the provision of relevant data on migration and related issues.
- Collaborate with relevant institutions, departments and agencies working on migration and related issues.
- Build capacity through short-term training programmes in specific areas.

In addition to this reader series, the Centre also publishes a Technical Paper series and a working Paper Series on key thematic migration issues. Please visit our website: www.ug.edu.gh/centres for further information on our research programmes and publications.

PART 1:

**MIGRATION PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN AFRICA
AND IMPLICATIONS FOR MIGRATION POLICY**

Chapter One

DYNAMICS OF INTRA-REGIONAL MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA: IMPLICATIONS FOR ECOWAS MIGRATION POLICY

Mariama Awumbila

Introduction

Migration is increasingly recognized as a major human development issue which, if effectively managed and harnessed, could contribute to the socio-economic transformation of the economies of both developed and developing countries. Although the focus is often placed on south to north migration, in West Africa¹, contemporary mobility patterns indicate that only a small share of African migrants actually move to the global north and that intra and inter-country movements within the region are and continue to be a central feature of peoples' livelihood strategies. Indeed, data indicates that in 2006, 84% of the migration movements from West African countries were directed toward another country of the sub-region. Such intra-regional movements, estimated at 7.5 million persons, was about seven times greater than migration movements from West Africa to the rest of the world, including Europe and North America (OECD/SWAC, 2006a). Although different data sources provide different estimates due to the difficulties of documenting movements within West Africa, all data sources indicate that majority of West African movements, involving different categories of migrants such as temporary cross-border workers, especially female traders, seasonal migrants, clandestine workers, professionals and refugees, farm labourers, unskilled workers and nomads, remains the bulk of migration streams. Much of these movements take place in diverse political, economic and ecological settings and are critical for the livelihoods of many families and communities in West Africa. The current demographic, economic and political situation in West Africa, further deepened by the diversities and

1 West Africa comprises of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

inequalities between countries, is likely to continue to fuel migration both within and out of the region and to explain regional mobility in West Africa. Indeed with approximately 7.5 million migrants from other West African countries, almost 3% of the regional population, West African citizens are said to be among the world's most mobile populations. Yet not much research nor media focus is given to these migration streams which often are critical for livelihoods in the region. This chapter focuses on these intra-regional migration dynamics in West Africa and argues that because of its volume and potential impact on economies and livelihoods, there is the need for a focus on intra West African mobility in migration policies for development.

The Context for Migration Patterns and Trends in West Africa

Africa's migration history is both dynamic and complex, and present-day migration trends are deeply rooted in historical antecedents. In West Africa, migration has historically been a way of life, and has always played a central role in livelihood strategies of both rural and urban populations. In pre-colonial times, movements occurred largely in search of security, new land safe for settlement and fertile for farming (Adepoju, 2003). Some cross border movements were also caused by differences in ecological conditions which necessitated exchange of goods, such as salt, livestock and food, among the population (Zachariah et al., 1980). The current configurations of the various ethnic groups inhabiting the different parts of the sub-region for example is attributed to population mobility, as ethnic groups moved, in search of favourable ecological conditions and security and settled in their present locations. As these groups settled, the need to exchange products of the different ecological areas led to trade in commodities which culminated in the famous trans-Saharan trade, which further promoted inter-regional movements especially among traders, scholars, and religious clerics (Adepoju, 2005a). In the pre-colonial era therefore, the West African sub-region was largely regarded as a borderless area within which goods and people moved freely.

Colonial and post-colonial policies which among others established national boundaries however changed the dynamics of migration flows in the sub-region (Adepoju, 2005a). The colonial regime altered the motivation and trends of migration by introducing and enforcing various blends of political and economic structures, imposing tax regimes and establishing

territorial boundaries. For example, Adepoju (2005a) documents a series of economic and recruitment policies, contract and forced labour legislation and agreements which were introduced to stimulate regional labour migration from Mali, Togo and Upper Volta to road networks, plantations and mines in Gold Coast and Ivory Coast. Transportation development also facilitated labour migration by reducing the distance and hazards of journeys that hitherto hampered long distance migrations. Adepoju (2009) argues that these developments stimulated and altered large-scale population movements, giving rise to a largely male-dominated, seasonal and cross-border migration which subsequently became institutionalised for several decades.

Thus during the colonial and early post colonial era, these series of measures led to migration flows dominated by a north-south movement from landlocked countries of Sahel West Africa (Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger) to the plantation-rich and mineral-rich coastal countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and The Gambia (Awumbila et al., 2014a). Various economic and recruitment measures, including compulsory recruitment, contract and forced labour legislation and agreements, were employed to stimulate labour migration from Togo, Mali and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) to the mines and plantations in Gold Coast (Ghana) and Ivory Coast. Transportation development, especially the construction of rail and road networks, also stimulated large-scale, male-dominated, seasonal and cross-border labour migrations within the sub-region (Adepoju, 2005a). Seasonal migration from Guinea, Guinea Bissau and Mali to the groundnut areas of Senegambia, for instance, began by the early 1920s. The number of Malian workers in the groundnut sector for example reached 25,000 to 30,000 by 1922, but fell sharply in the early 1930s as earnings fell with the drop in the world groundnut price (David, 1980). Of these destination countries, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana were the two most important migrant destinations in the early pre colonial period.

In Côte d'Ivoire, cocoa and coffee production necessitated the recruitment of large numbers of farm labourers from neighbouring poor regions, especially Guinea, Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali. After independence, bilateral agreements signed between the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso in 1960 and between Côte d'Ivoire and Mali, Benin, and Guinea facilitated the movement of labour from these Sahel countries to the plantation zones of Côte d'Ivoire. The migrants generally worked as farm labourers, artisans, administrative workers, hawkers etc

(Haeringer, 1973). On the other hand, Ghana attracted many migrants from Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin, Niger, Mali and Nigeria, as the opening up of cocoa and oil palm plantations, the massive extraction of minerals and infrastructure development drew large scale immigration from these West African countries to supply the demand for labour that Ghana's raw material export economy demanded (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003; Awumbila et al, 2011; Awumbila et al, 2014a). Infrastructural development in particular during this period especially in the areas of rail and road facilitated the growth of cities such as Accra, Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, Abidjan, Lomé, Dakar and Cotonou and triggered major population movements of farm workers, skilled and unskilled workers, traders and students to these city centers. Thus improvement in the transportation network in West Africa in colonial times facilitated population mobility by reducing the distance and hazards of journeys that in pre-colonial times hampered long distance migrations.

By the 1960s, the composition and direction of population movements in the sub-region continued to be largely influenced by the colonial economic and political legacies, with some migration flows such as the seasonal migration of farmers from Guinea, Guinea Bissau and Mali to the groundnut fields in Senegal and Gambia intensifying (Swindell, 1977; Zachariah et al., 1980). Following the attainment of independence by several West African countries in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the consolidation of boundaries by national governments began to hinder cross-border migration and several major migration flows changed direction. By the 1970s, Nigeria for example had become a major migrant destination. A number of sectors of the Nigerian economy, buoyed by revenue from oil production necessitated a need for both professionals and low-skilled workers (Adepoju, 2005a). The ECOWAS immigrants in Nigeria mainly came from Ghana, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Cape Verde. Migration from Ghana to Nigeria was especially high during the 1970s as the economic situation in Ghana deteriorated and the Nigerian economy boomed, driven by the dramatic increase in oil prices after 1973. It is estimated that one million Ghanaians migrated to Nigeria by the late 1970s (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003). Côte d'Ivoire also received many Ghanaian migrants in the 1970s, but they were less skilled relative to their counterparts in Nigeria (Awumbila et al., 2011; Awumbila et al., 2014a). Togo also changed from a major migrant sending country in the 1960s to a major destination country in the 1970s attracting migrants from other West African countries, including Ghana and Benin, because of the high world price of phosphate, (Manley, 2003) and the establishment of

a free port and duty free shops which made Togo a commercial hub in West Africa (Zachariah et al., 1980). The Togolese economy however declined again from the 1980s and this affected its ability to attract migrants from other ECOWAS countries.

By the 1980s, migration flows from several ECOWAS countries had accelerated, in line with global migration trends. Liberia and Sierra Leone also joined these traditional labour exporting countries with high levels of emigration in the 1990s mainly as a result of political crises. The period after the late eighties, also saw traditional labour receiving countries, such as Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Ghana, become labour exporting countries as their nationals moved to Europe, North America and other African countries in response to political and economic problems (Adepoju, 2005). Most of the migrants who moved to Europe and America were highly skilled professionals, including doctors, nurses, lecturers, and engineers (Afolayan et al., 2009; Quartey, 2009). Indeed by the 1980s a "culture of migration" had emerged, whereby migration especially to Europe and North America, had become not only a coping strategy and a form of economic mobility for individuals and families in West Africa, but also a form of transition into adulthood in some West African countries.

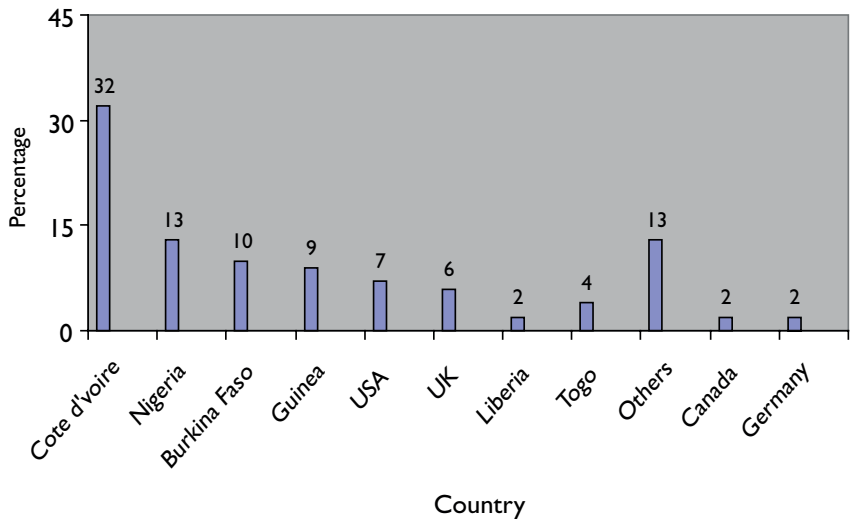
Contemporary West African Migration: Changing Dynamics and Flows

The discussion above thus indicates that migration flows and patterns reflect historical influences as well as socio-economic and political trends and environmental pressures. Given the current global processes of globalisation, urbanisation, development of technology including ICT, new natural resource discoveries in many parts of the sub-region, what has been the impact of these on migration trends and patterns? This section discusses the changing dynamics that have occurred in the last few decades in West Africa.

Contemporary migration patterns indicate that although the direction of flows has been changing over time in response to a variety of factors, in general intra-regional migration is still the principal form of migration flows in West Africa and is still dominated by a north-south movement from countries of Sahel West Africa to the mineral-rich and plantation-rich coastal countries. More recently conflict situations have made Liberia, Sierra Leone and to some extent Côte d'Ivoire also migrant source countries. In Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Togo,

over two-thirds of emigrants are living within West and Central Africa. For the region as a whole, 61.7 per cent of emigrants move to another part of the region, 8.2 per cent in Central Africa, 0.3 per cent in the Gulf, 14.8 per cent to various parts of Europe, and 6.0 per cent in North America (de Haas, 2008). Thus, despite the recent diversification of West African migration, intra-regional migration remains far more important than migration from West Africa to the rest of the world. Figure 1 showing the destinations of Ghanaians emigrants in 2005, for example, indicates the overwhelmingly regional nature of Ghanaian emigration. Among the top ten destination countries of Ghanaian emigrants in 2005, six are West African Countries and the top four are dominated by West African countries (Cote D'Ivoire, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Guinea).

Figure 1.1: Destination of Ghanaian E migrants, 2005



Source: Sussex Global Migrant Origin Database, 2005

Despite this, Awumbila et al. (2014a) in a historical analysis of labour migration in the ECOWAS region note that today almost all West African countries are both migrant sending areas and immigrant destinations. However Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and The Gambia are the popular migrant destination countries, with Côte d'Ivoire having the highest number of nationals of other ECOWAS member countries in absolute terms. Table 1 shows the stock of ECOWAS emigrants and immigrants as at 2012. It clearly indicates that Gambia and Côte d'Ivoire had the largest percentage

of their populations being made up of immigrants from other ECOWAS countries. On the other hand, only 0.32% of the population of Burkina Faso and 0.43% of Mali's population were immigrants from other ECOWAS countries. Therefore, although a country like Gambia does not rank very high in terms of migrant destinations in ECOWAS, as a percentage of immigrants in its total population, it ranks the highest in ECOWAS (Table 1).

In terms of sending countries, Table 1 indicates that although all the ECOWAS countries that send out migrants also receive migrants from other countries, Burkina Faso is a predominantly migrant sending country. The country had 1,361,599 more emigrants in ECOWAS countries than the number of ECOWAS immigrants that it was hosting. Other predominantly migrant sending countries are Mali, Benin, and Liberia. Thus, similar to the situation in the 1970s, landlocked countries in the Sahel region are predominantly migrant source areas. Table 1 also indicates that some countries are both immigration as well as emigration countries. Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal send out almost an equal number of emigrants as they receive immigrants, which has significant implications for migration policy.

Thus an important dimension of contemporary West African migration is that many West Africa countries are now simultaneously immigration, emigration and transit countries. Senegal for example, has been a labour exporting and labour receiving country. It also now serves as a transit country for migrants seeking to enter Europe clandestinely through Las Palmas to Spain. Niger is also currently a key transit country for irregular migrants moving between West Africa and the Maghreb enroute to Europe. Ghana for example is also currently a migrant receiving, sending as well as transit country. Return migration is becoming common arising from economic and political stabilisation of sending countries or economic and political crisis of receiving countries. There is some evidence of return migration to Ghana facilitated by the improved economic conditions and political stability with most returnees going into self-employment and investing in private enterprises. Oil and natural gas discoveries and an improving economic climate as well as political stability have encouraged return migration of Ghanaian professionals and semi-skilled migrants (Awumbila et al., 2014a). Anecdotal evidence suggests that recent discoveries of oil in Ghana and investments in the country's oil industry has implications for growth which is drawing migrants within the sub-region and beyond to the country. The political crisis in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast has led to the return of many West Africans to their countries of origin. Some migrants return

Table 1.1: Stock of ECOWAS Immigrants and Emigrants, 2012

Country	Population (2010) (000)	Total number of Immigrants from ECOWAS Countries	ECOWAS Immigrants as a percentage of Total Population	Total number of Emigrants in ECOWAS Countries	ECOWAS Emigrants as a percent- age of Total Population	Net Migration (Absolute)
Benin	8,850	132,567	1.50	404,464	4.57	-271,897
Burkina Faso	16,469	53,086	0.32	1,414,685	8.59	-1,361,599
Cape Verde	496	8,782	1.77	15,302	3.09	-6,520
Ivory Coast	19,738	2,350,024	11.91	47,164	0.24	2,302,860
Gambia	1,728	278,793	16.13	21,059	1.22	257,734
Ghana	24,392	409,910	1.68	347,487	1.42	62,423
Guinea	9,982	381,315	3.82	438,481	4.39	-57,166
Guinea Bissau	1,515	15,985	1.06	44,544	2.94	-28,559
Liberia	3,994	69,321	1.74	318,459	7.97	-249,138
Mali	15,370	65,949	0.43	708,687	4.61	-642,738
Niger	15,512	176,877	1.14	293,261	1.89	-116,384
Nigeria	158,423	823,743	0.52	267,948	0.17	555,795
Senegal	12,434	137,626	1.11	227,033	1.83	-89,407
Sierra Leone	5,868	87,199	1.49	178,758	3.05	-91,559
Togo	6,028	215,409	3.57	261,166	4.33	-45,757

Source: Awumbila *et al.*, 2014a

wealthy and establish farms and businesses while some return poorer than before. There is also some evidence of a pattern of replacement migration, in which migrants of rural origin move to towns to occupy positions vacated by nationals who emigrate abroad as appears to be occurring in Mali, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal. Thus countries that were once immigrant-receiving have become migrant sending and also transit countries, thus making it difficult to classify countries as either immigration or emigration countries.

More recently, labour migration in the sub-region has taken on more complex shapes and patterns in response to globalisation, urbanisation, "new natural resource discoveries" such as oil and gas and the establishment of new industries such as tourism (Senegal, Gambia) and the development of ICT which has led to outsourcing of employment to countries such as Senegal and Cape Verde (OECD/SWAC, 2006). The discovery of oil in Ghana has already attracted internal and international migrants, as it did in Nigeria. While it is likely that some traditional labour mobility patterns will remain, these may bring about changes in intra-regional mobility patterns.

Urbanisation and Rural- Urban Migration Trends

Urbanisation and rural-urban migration have been key factors in intra-regional mobility patterns in West African since colonisation. A large number of today's economic poles in West Africa, which were previously empty spaces; such as the groundnut producing zone in Senegal, the cocoa and coffee producing areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, and the two industrial zones in Nigeria and Porto Novo in Côte d'Ivoire (OECD/SWAC, 2006b) have over the last few decades become densely populated.

Rapid urbanisation, or an increase in the urban share of the national population, is occurring in much of Africa. At an estimated growth rate of 3.5% per year, this urban growth rate in Africa is expected to hold into 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2014). West African cities have absorbed two thirds of the population growth registered between 1960 and 1990. Today, they host 45% of the population ((UN-Habitat, 2014). This urban growth initially occurred due to population movements from rural areas, but in contemporary times, natural increase in towns and cities; and re-classification as villages grow into towns once they attain the threshold population defined as urban, has accounted for the rapid urban growth (OECD, 2006; Awumbila et al., 2014b). The share of rural-urban migration to the growth of the urban populations in West African countries must therefore be

treated with caution as recently highlighted by some studies (for example Potts, 2012). Nevertheless movements from the more “rural” parts of West Africa, predominantly the northern sahel area, to the more affluent and urbanized southern coastal zone have accounted for part of the growth in population of the coastal zone. Internal migration and particularly rural to urban migration has also intensified as farm labourers, have moved in search of work in the cities. Urbanisation trends are therefore likely to continue to influence intra-regional movements for some decades to come.

Gendered Migration Patterns

Contemporary migration patterns also indicate that women are playing important and presumably increasing roles not only in international migration, but also in intra-regional migration within the West Africa Region. The traditional pattern of migration within and from Africa which has been male-dominated is increasingly becoming feminised. A significant share of migrants is now made up of women who move independently to fulfill their own economic needs. Women dominate short distance emigration to nearby countries, accounting for 64, 57 and 56 per cent respectively of Ghanaian emigrants in Côte d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo in the mid 1990s (Twum-Baah et al., 1995). Women migrants are increasingly drawn to the wage labour market (both formal and informal) as a survival strategy to augment meagre family income. Migration for trade purposes, a dominant feature of the migration pattern of the sub region, is essentially female-dominated, helping to promote intra-regional trade and serving as the lifeline for small-country economies of especially Benin, Gambia and Togo. The extent to which the mobility of women may be providing opportunities for changing gender roles in Africa as suggested by Adepoju, (2005) requires further focus as in many cases women’s mobility is still largely determined by unequal gender relations that either inhibit their movement or force them to leave their homes. Despite this the gendered nature of migration drivers and processes needs to be recognised.

As difficult as it would be to identify the major factors that have contributed to the increase in female migration, the demand for female labour in the care industry as a result of an increasing number of women working in the formal sector cannot be overruled. For example, in Ghana, many young women and girls are migrating from rural areas into urban areas to work as domestic workers, as more households are substituting care work previously performed by female household members with

external domestic services (LAWA, 2003). Many also move from the poorer northern regions to work as head load porters (*kayayei*) in urban markets (Awumbila and Ardayio-Schandorf, 2008).

Cross Border Movements

Globally, there is a growing phenomenon of movement of people, goods and information across national, international and intercontinental borders. A number of authors for example Adepoju and van der Weil, (2010) and Awumbila, (2009) point out that, cross border movements are a central feature of people's livelihoods and are often generally short and medium term in nature. The various borders of the sub-region witness daily commuting of traders and professionals across borders for short term transactions, formal and informal. These movements have been essentially intra-regional in nature and have included female traders, farm labourers and unskilled workers who paid little attention to the arbitrary borders. Nomadic farmers have also dominated intra-regional movements with the Fulani herdsmen moving across West African borders from the sahelian countries of Chad, Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso in search for pasture for their cattle. These have sometimes caused tensions between the Fulani herdsmen and their host farming communities.

Forced Migration

Africa holds the largest number of refugees in the world, estimated at 2.7 million (UNHCR, 2010). With the ongoing conflicts in the West African sub-region, it is the second largest region of asylum in Africa, after central Africa, with 725,000 refugees in 2004 (OECD/SWAC, 2006a). Most refugees often flee to neighbouring countries in times of conflicts (OECD/SWAC, 2006a). Over the past decades, a number of West African borders have experienced political unrest which resulted in the displacement of its population as refugees to other parts of the continent and beyond. For instance, the civil war in Liberia produced several waves of refugees. Data from UNHCR indicates that in 2009, there were about 67,841 Liberian refugees and asylum seekers of which 90% (60,853) were residing in West Africa. Thus Liberian refugees found asylum in almost all of the coastal West African states, with the highest hosting countries being Cote D' Ivoire (35.3%), Ghana (16.7%) and Guinea (15.2%). Sierra Leone also emerged from a decade of civil war in 2002 that devastated its social structures, economy and basic infrastructure. However, both Liberia and Sierra

Leone are experiencing political stability during the past decade and this has allowed the countries to embark on movements to encourage the return of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) to their areas of origin. According to the Liberia Refugees, Repatriation and Resettlement Commission (LRRRC), over 140,000 Liberian refugees were voluntarily repatriated by UNHCR into Liberia since 2003. In 2002 and 2009, Côte d'Ivoire also experienced political instabilities resulting in the displacement of refugees in neighboring countries. According to UNHCR (2010), West Africa was host to 150,000 refugees in 2009. A major challenge in recording the actual number of refugees at any given time means that this number may actually be an underestimation.

Pervasive and Growing Trends in Human Trafficking

Trafficking in persons, both to intra-regional and extra-regional destinations, is a pervasive and growing characteristic of recent West African migration patterns. Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, among others, are all involved in human trafficking in a complex web of being origin, transit, and destination of trafficked women and children. Cote d'Ivoire for example is a major destination for trafficked children from Mali and Burkina Faso as forced labour to work in plantations and as domestic servants. Togo is also cited as serving as the origin of trafficked women and children in Nigeria and Ghana as well as other destinations outside the region and the world over (Kassibo, 2008; UNICEF, 2003).

Trafficking in children from Togo, Nigeria, and nMali, to Cote d'Ivoire's plantation and domestic servants in Gabon, and of women from Ghana, Nigeria, Mali, and Sierra Leone as exploited sex workers in countries of the European Union has also taken root. Trafficking in girls is reportedly rampant in the so-called 'Triangle of Shame' the Niger/Chad/Nigeria border. Hundreds of trafficked girls from Edo State, Nigeria, end up in the sex industry in Italy. There is a gendered pattern of work among trafficked children. While boys are put to work in strenuous jobs especially in the mines, fishing and on farms and plantations, most girls and women are trafficked and exploited as sex workers both within the region and across the borders of the sub-region. A 2001 survey on child labour in West and Central Africa also indicated that about 330,000 children were employed in the cocoa agricultural industry in Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria (Sawadogo, 2012). Within the sub-region, Cote d' Ivoire is highly

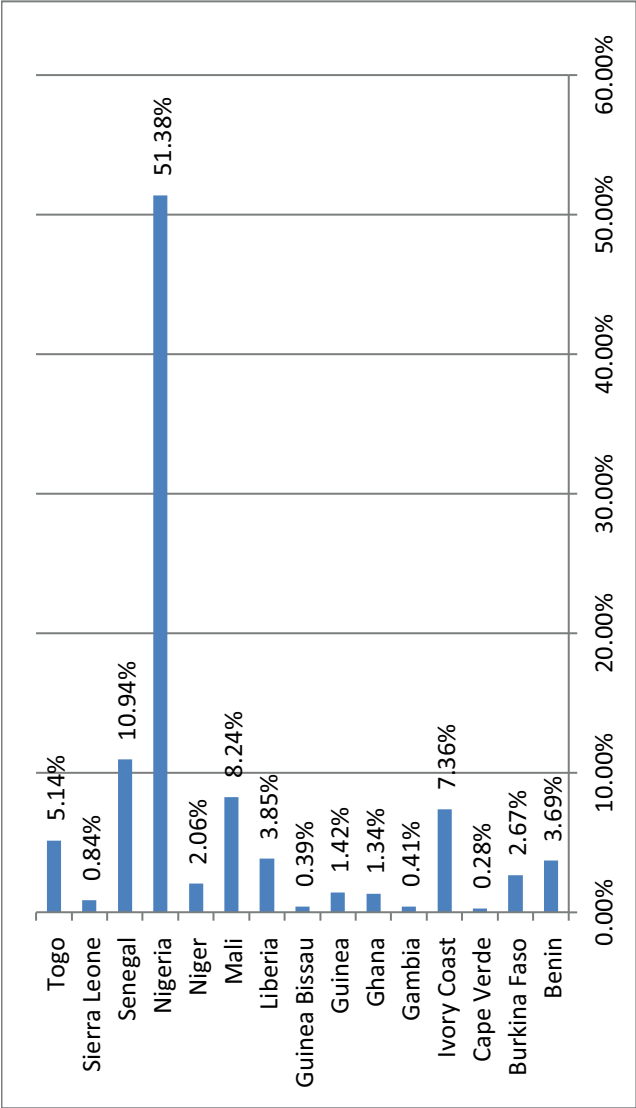
recognised for its child labour on cocoa and coffee plantations (Adepoju and Van der Weil, 2010). This is evidenced from a UNICEF report that out of the 230,000 children working in Côte d'Ivoire, around 12,000 had no family connection to the cocoa farmer or any local farm in the country, and 2,500 were recruited by intermediaries in Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire (UNICEF, 2001).

Growing Significance of Intra-Regional Migrant Remittances to West African Economies

Migrant remittances have become an important and highly stable source of external funds for many developing countries (Ratha, 2003) and especially for many rural and urban households in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to a World Bank report, in 2012, for the first time, remittances became the largest external financial source to Africa, ahead of FDI and ODA (World Bank, 2012). In sub-Saharan Africa, an estimated 13% of remittances come from other African countries (African Development Bank, 2011). Although there is paucity of data on remittances within the West Africa region, anecdotal evidence suggest that, these represent an important source of finance for many absent migrant households. Evidence from the sub-region suggests that, a sizeable portion of remittances are allocated for investment in agricultural land, equipment and small-scale businesses (Addy et al., 2003) as well as for household consumption and welfare (Mazzucato et al., 2006; Quartey, 2009).

Figure 2 shows the proportion of remittances received by countries in the ECOWAS sub-region. It indicates that Nigeria received the largest share of remittances in the ECOWAS region with more than half (51.4%), followed by Senegal with 11.5% and Ivory Coast with 7.3%. These figures are likely to be largely underestimates as most remittance flows in the sub-region are channelled through informal sources.

Figure1. 2: Proportion of Remittances Received by ECOWAS Country, 2011



Source: Migration and Remittance Factbook, 2011

Although there is almost no data on intra-regional remittances in West Africa, remittances from intra-regional migrants are vital to the regional economy given the large proportion (84%) of West African migrants who move within the sub-region. In Burkina Faso, which is predominantly an emigration country (see Table 1), studies indicate that Burkina Faso's development depends largely on emigration to neighbouring countries. A study by Lachaud (1999) indicates that transfers of funds to Burkina Faso, about half of which comes from Côte d'Ivoire, significantly improved household living conditions. The study further found that remittances to Burkina Faso go to about one-third of households, especially poor rural households. Thus because remittances supplement home earnings, they reduced the headcount of poverty of rural and urban households by 7.2 and 3.2 percentage points, respectively (Lachaud, 1999). Thus the primary destination of migrants from Burkina Faso is Côte d'Ivoire, which is also the principal source of migrant remittances and significantly influences remittance inflows. This indicates the importance of intra-regional migrant remittance flows.

Therefore given the dominance of intra-regional migration and remittances flows and their role in household wellbeing and poverty reduction, it is important that policy makers recognise this and factor in remittances not only from international migration but also from intra-regional migration. Thus ongoing policies being developed to harness remittances for productive investment, and specifically to lower the cost of remittance services must factor in intra-regional as well as internal migrant remittances as they have been shown to have a wider distributive effect particularly to rural areas and to women.

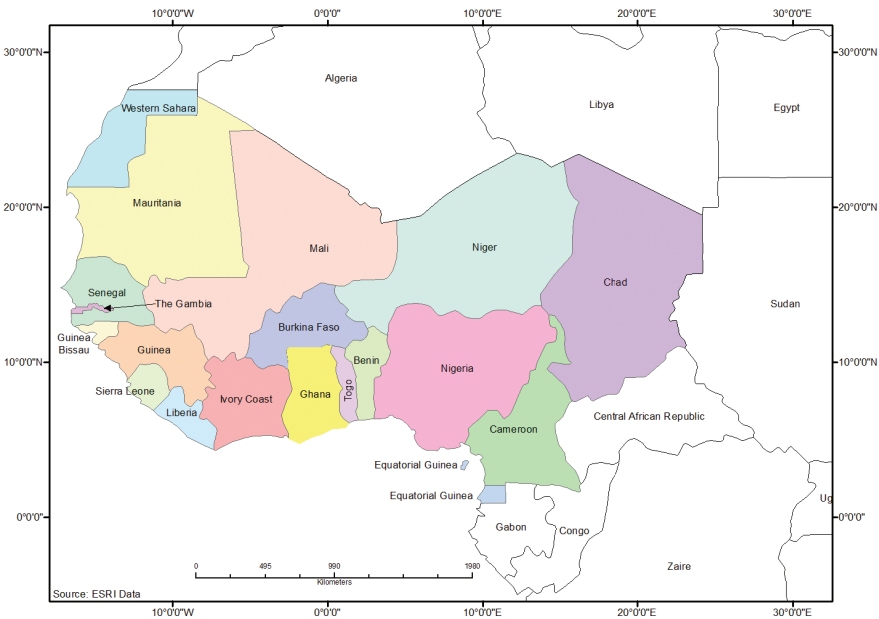
Intra-Regional Mobility and Integration

The last four decades have seen an increasing role and importance of regional blocs in shaping migration dynamics in Africa. Although many African states do not have clear policies on mobility, the creation of regional blocs such as ECOWAS, SADC and the Maghreb Union have had an impact on inter-regional mobility and particularly on the direction of labour migration flows. In West Africa, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)² (Figure 3), founded in 1975, aims at promoting economic

2 The 15 ECOWAS Member States comprises of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. Thus, Mauritania is not a member of ECOWAS.

integration within the region by enhancing free trade and facilitating free movement of goods and services in all Member States. The Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment, adopted in 1979, seeks to further promote the free mobility of labour and progressively establish the right of entry; residence and establishment of members of each Member States within fifteen years from the date at which the protocol came into force (Adepoju, 2006; ACP, 2010). Thus the protocol aims at promoting a progressive abolition of obstacles to the free movement of people, services and capital within the sub-region and thus represents a crucial step toward the creation of a borderless sub-region.

Figure1.3: Map of West Africa showing the ECOWAS Member States



Source: Sar, 2013

Towards the implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocols, some actions have been taken by the ECOWAS including the adoption of the standardised ECOWAS Travel Certificate by member states in 1985, the granting of the maximum 90-day period of stay to ECOWAS citizens by immigration officials at entry points in 2000, and the adoption of the ECOWAS Passport in 2000 (Awumbila et al, 2014a). This has had a great

impact on promoting cross border movements and intra-regional mobility and particularly on the direction of labour migration flows within the sub-region. Konseiga (2005) argues that intra-regional migration has played a leading role in the regional integration process and has compensated for the weakness of the other channels of West African economic integration, such as trade and investment flows.

However, as pointed out by several studies (Adepoju, 2009, Agyei and Clottey 2007, Awumbila et al 2014a), although the ECOWAS represents an excellent example of regional cooperation, despite these provisions, the free movement of labor is impaired by several factors including the fact that regional and national regulations are not harmonised thus impinging on the practical implementation of the policy. In addition although, the creation of ECOWAS among other things was to promote a progressive abolition of obstacles to the free movement of people, services and capital within the sub-region, harassment of citizens of Member States along border posts still exists although is on the decline, and initiatives by national governments to launch registration campaigns of migrants have often failed (African Caribbean Pacific Observatory on Migration, 2010).

Recognising the potential role of intra-regional migration in promoting regional integration and mobility, the Heads of States and Governments of ECOWAS in 2006 mandated the ECOWAS Commission to define a common regional approach on migration. The 2008 ECOWAS common approach on migration aims at fostering the harmonisation of policies, the protection of migrant workers, promoting regular migration, gender-sensitive policies, and policies for the protection of the most vulnerable persons, among others. It also sets out migration and development action plans to remedy the obstacles to an effective implementation of the Free Movement Protocol. It thus provides directions on strategic priorities as well as action plans to be implemented to arrive at effective migration management in West Africa. Despite having the potential to address and manage intra-regional migration in the sub-region, translation of the ECOWAS framework into workable programmes to be implemented at the national levels has been very slow (Awumbila et al., 2014a).

Conclusions and Implications for Managing Intra-Regional Migration for Poverty Reduction in West Africa

This chapter has shown that intra-regional migration between countries in the West Africa sub-region has been and still is the dominant form of migration flows. Historically, migrants have regarded West Africa as a sub-region of free movement. Colonial and postcolonial policies however altered the traditionally borderless migration systems. Contemporary intra-regional migration patterns in West Africa indicates that although the direction of flows has been changing over time in response to a variety of factors, in general intra-regional migration has been dominated by a north-south movement from countries of Sahel West Africa (Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger) to the mineral-rich and plantation-rich coastal countries, notably Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and The Gambia. More recently conflict situations have made Liberia, Sierra Leone and to some extent Côte d'Ivoire also migrant source countries. Although almost all West African countries are today both migrant sending areas and immigration destinations, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and the Gambia are the popular migrants' destination countries. In absolute terms, Côte d'Ivoire has the highest number of nationals of other ECOWAS member countries. Recent political and economic developments, as well as processes of globalisation and urbanisation within the sub-region are changing the configurations of West Africa's intra-regional mobility dynamics. Although in principle many member states of ECOWAS have ratified the Protocol on Free Movement of People and Goods, in practice there are still restrictive policies/initiatives by member states to protect certain sectors of their economies for their nationals.

These patterns and trends highlight the fact that in West Africa, intra-regional migration has always been a way of life, and has been integral to labour markets and livelihoods in the ECOWAS region. Over time, and in different places, it has taken a number of different forms and taken place in a variety of different demographic and social contexts. Intra-regional migration therefore represents an important livelihood strategy for poor households seeking to diversify their sources of income, but is also characteristic of the better off in the sub region. The demographic, socio-economic and political situation in the ECOWAS Region implies that intra-regional and inter country mobility will continue to be a central feature of life

in West Africa. The contemporary migration realities and dynamics which show that more than 7.5 million West Africans (about 3 per cent of the region's population) currently circulate within the sub-region, compared to 0.5 per cent of Europeans who circulate within Europe, indicates that West Africa cannot afford to ignore intra-regional mobility as the livelihoods of a substantial part of its citizens depends on it. It also means that any common migration policy that will be meaningful to the lives of West Africans needs to ensure that the modern day realities of intra-regional migration has a central place.

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Chapter Two

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

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Introduction

The Programme of Action (PoA) of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) acknowledges the important role population variables play in development planning and, therefore, advocates the effective integration of population variables into the development planning processes of countries. One such key population variable is international migration relative to its levels, trends and changing patterns. This recommendation is based on international migration's possible impact on population growth and overall socio-economic development of both sending and receiving countries. This is important for African countries because international migration within the continent has been quite high in addition to international migration flows between the continent and other regions of the world.

In the migration literature, Africa is largely seen as a source region for international migration. However, the evidence so far suggests that there are more migration flows within African countries than migration from Africa to the rest of the developed countries of the world (Adepoju, 2010). This means that Africans migrate within Africa more than across to the developed north. Whether international migration is within Africa or between Africa and the developed countries outside the continent, there are obvious challenges as there are opportunities that have impacts on the development of countries in the region. For example, beside the role migration plays in a country or region's spatial population distribution, it is seen as one of the avenues through which an enhancement of the quality of life of the individual who moves and the development of the place of origin and destination can be achieved (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2009).

In earlier international migration discourse, movement of African professionals outside their home countries as international migrants was seen mainly as a drain on the human resource base of countries of origin

(Shaw, 2007). More recently, however, migration is considered to have a lot of positive impacts on sending countries and is often seen as a movement out of poverty for many individuals (See Migration DRC Report, 2009). Yet, there are challenges that need to be addressed through policy interventions as a way of reducing international migration's negative effects while maximizing its positive outcomes for development. International migration is thus, increasingly becoming a powerful vehicle for boosting development in both countries of origin and destination. For example, the 2012 report of the UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, titled 'Realizing the Future We Want for All', sees migration as a key dimension of global population dynamics and an enabler for inclusive economic and social development (United Nations, 2012).

Global matrices of bilateral migrant stocks spanning the period 1960-2000, disaggregated by gender and based primarily on the foreign-born concept using over one thousand census and population register records for the first time gave a comprehensive picture of bilateral global migration over the last half of the 20th century. The data revealed that the global migrant stock increased from 92 million to 165 million between 1960 and 2000 even though the bulk of these immigrants lost their ties altogether with the country of origin. This estimate has since increased to 215 million as indicated in the Migration and Remittances Fact Book 2011 (World Bank, 2011).

In the light of the foregoing, international migration is very important on account of the estimated volume of migrants so classified within the African Region. This paper, therefore, attempts to answer four key questions relative to international migration's contribution to the achievement of Africa's development goals beyond 2014:

- i. What are the challenges facing Africa in terms of international migration within and outside the continent both for sending and receiving countries?
- ii. What policies are required to institutionally strengthen the knowledge and evidence base in order to secure collection, analysis and dissemination of quality migration data?
- iii. What is the potential that international migration can contribute to women's increased mobility, autonomy and empowerment and what policies are required to check abuses of the rights of migrants throughout the migration process?

- iv. What policies are required to mitigate the adverse effects of skilled migration in Africa and to capitalize on the development aspect of international migration?

Before answering these questions, however, the paper presents the international migration trends, patterns and its drivers within the African Region as a firm basis to understanding the context within which answers to these questions have been advanced or presented. On the whole, it is argued that, considering the youthful age structure of most countries in Africa, international migration will be increasingly dominated by young people without any gender differentiation. Furthermore, although there are still challenges about international migration involving African countries, the challenges are surmountable if the right policies are put in place. Again, countries in Africa will need to take concrete steps to build proper databases on international migrants (i.e., both emigrants and immigrants) to facilitate effective in-depth analysis of the international migration situations in order to assess the gains and losses that may be attributable to migration.

Finally, within the context of the global economic meltdown, migrants from less-endowed countries, particularly from Africa and those who are seen to belong to different races from those of the host countries, are more likely to continue to face discrimination and abuses of their livelihood rights especially those who become irregular or undocumented migrants. Interestingly, within Africa, non-nationals within some countries have suffered discrimination and xenophobia-relative treatment especially when they are perceived to be doing better than the nationals in the host countries. Zimbabweans and other African foreign nationals in South Africa have suffered physical abuse in recent times (Crush, 2001) Consequently, there is an urgent need for each country to put in place a comprehensive national migration policy to address the key challenges of international migration while taking advantage of the opportunities it offers for their development beyond 2014 (i.e., 20 years since the implementation of the ICPD PoA).

Trends and Patterns of Migration

Earliest attempts to document migration patterns in Africa suggested a huge wave of human movement in sub-Saharan Africa that even exceeded the global average (Russel et al. 1990). “Nevertheless, while emigration from Africa increased substantially in the last decades in absolute terms, incidence of emigration or the proportion of stock of emigrants of the total population of the country of origin currently is one of the lowest in the world with

marked variations across countries” (Shimeless, 2010:6). According to the World Bank (2010), the number of people living in countries other than their birth place was about 215 million.

Africa has had a long history of migration within and beyond the continent and, therefore, contributes a chunk of this global migrant stock. As at 2008, it was estimated that the number of people with African descent that lived outside of the continent was close to 140 million and were mostly located in the Western Hemisphere (Shinn, 2008). However, not all these may be classified as contemporary migrants from Africa because many of the people of African descent living outside the continent may be children of Africans who were victims of the slave trade taken away from Africa. African emigrants also maintain a close economic and social contact with their relatives and family members left behind. This is facilitated by the rapid pace of globalization and continuously improving cheaper communication possibilities, a development that has re-opened the debate on the role of migration for development (Page and Plaza, 2005). The increased regional and global mobility of persons, the structural changes in the global economy and the recent global economic crisis have created new opportunities and challenges for countries of migrant origin, transit and destination.

Data on international migration are often not easily available particularly in Africa. A recent UN publication on trends in international migration that looked at stock data on the number and proportions of migrants indicates that between 1990 and 2000 the number of migrants worldwide increased by 15% from a total of 156 million to 178 million, reaching 214 million in 2010. In 2010, the number of people living in countries other than that of their birth was estimated at 215 million and 31 million of this number were said to come from Africa (Abebe Shimeles, 2010) with about 30% being represented by the youth.

Between 2000 and 2010, the number of migrants is recorded to have increased by 20% which suggests that the total increase since 1990 is 38%. However, with respect to the relative share of the number of migrants to the total population, international migration appears to be fairly stable.

It is also documented that as high as 60% of all migrants reside in the more developed regions. As a result, in 2010, migrants represented more than 10% of the total population in the more developed regions (it was 7% in 1990). On the contrary, the proportion of international migrants to the total population of Africa has been less than two per cent since 1990 although it has been slightly higher than that for Asia (1.47%) and Latin America and

the Caribbean (1.27%) according to United Nations Population Division/ DESA (2013).

In Africa, long distance migration was initially dominated by males but in recent times, females have increasingly been part of international movements across the continent due to increased education among the female population. Consequently, the proportionate share of the migrant population by males has steadily reduced. Overall, although the number of migrants in Africa has increased substantially (i.e., by 13% between 2000 and 2010), its proportion of the continent's total population has declined largely because of the high increase of Africa's population: from 1990 to 2010, Africa's population increased by some 61% from 0.635 billion to 1,022 billion. In all countries, the proportion of migrants as per the total population has been low and even in Southern Africa where it is highest, it has been less than 4% while in Northern Africa, it was below one per cent in 2010 (IOM, 2010).

It is further noted that in Africa, cross-border migration has been very important but often it is overlooked because those who are involved in it often do not see themselves as migrants. This resulted from the imposition of borders across clans, families and communities that hitherto lived as one whole during the period of the scramble for Africa. We have families living across borders separating nations in Africa who have had to reside in two different countries but who find it difficult to acknowledge this reality. There is, therefore, a lot of commuting across recognised international borders that often go unrecorded. This is even strengthened by sub-regional agreements on free movement of people across member states such as the ECOWAS Protocol which permits the movement across member states borders without visa for residence up to a period of 90 days.

It is interesting that South-North migration is the one that is more documented due to more visible immigration policies adopted in the developed northern countries of Europe and North America and effective systems for tracking immigrants in the destination countries. In contrast, although there is a lot of movement across countries within Africa, they largely remain unrecorded and consequently its volume continues to be a mirage. There are repeated reports of African migrants using unapproved routes to enter into Europe to create the impression that the largest chunk of African migrants is heading to Europe and North America as destination regions while ignoring what goes on virtually on daily basis within the African continent between countries. The human tragedy going on across

the Mediterranean with migrants from Africa trying to get to Europe by unapproved routes has certainly fuelled this sensationalism. Taylor (2015) reports of huge numbers of people from impoverished and war-torn countries in Africa and other parts of the world continue to making perilous journeys to Europe for economic and security reasons.

International migrants as at 2010 represented 3.1% of the total world population (having increased from 2.9% in 1990). The breakdown was 10.3% for the more developed regions and 1.5% in the less developed regions, particularly Africa. For Africa, the small proportion of migrants has been due to the continent's rapid population growth.

The more developed regions experienced the largest increase in migrant stock between 1990 and 2010 (45 million or 55 per cent). In 2010, almost 60 per cent of all international migrants were recorded to be living in the more developed regions compared to 53 per cent in 1990. In the less developed regions, the migrant stock was expected to increase by 13 million (United Nations, 2009). In spite of this, the annual growth rate of the international migrant stock in more developed regions has been declining in contrast to that in the less developed regions which has seen a steady increase. It is to be noted that in 2010, the growth rate in the migrant stock for the less developed regions (including Africa) surpassed the rate for the more developed regions for the first time. This is expected to continue due to the fact that the less developed countries of Africa in particular continue to have large youthful population that is increasingly involved in international migration streams.

Drivers of Migration

International migration in Africa can be conceived within the framework of four key drivers: economic, socio-cultural, environmental, and political factors. Irrespective of which of these factors is at play, perceived and real global and regional differences in levels of wealth and human development between poorer and richer societies have constituted the main rationale behind people's quest to migrate. These are largely considered within the traditional push and pull factors between regions of origin and destination.

Africa has a history of colonial rule where the colonists made an effort to develop most of Africa as a raw material producing region and thereby developed sections of the region which were natural resource-endowed and required migrant labour from less endowed areas for exploitation. Therefore, right from the attainment of nationhood, some areas emerged as

reserves for migrant labour supply to the natural resource-endowed areas and this situation has continued till today. The mines in the Republic of South Africa continue to attract labour migrants from within countries in the Southern African region.

Although Africa is largely seen as a poor continent, there are variations with some countries being relatively better compared to others. Countries that are considered to be economically stable and offering opportunities for enhanced livelihoods act as centres of attraction for migrant labour. For example, migration between Ghana and Nigeria has alternated with periods of economic boom and recession between the two countries such that whenever either is considered to be economically stable and prosperous, it has attracted migrants from the other country and vice versa. This is mainly influenced by the perception of the availability of jobs and better remuneration for one's skills. However, Shaw (2007) argues that traditional patterns of intra-continental (as well as extra-continental) migration in Africa are in flux as relatively affluent political economies go backwards resulting in outflow of migrants from Cote d'Ivoire and Zimbabwe to neighbours like Ghana and Senegal or Botswana and South Africa, respectively.

The out-migration of professional health workers from Africa to Europe and America is well known due to poor conditions of service and low wages these professional health workers used to experience in some countries in Africa (See Nyong'o and Dovlo, 2005). Therefore, whenever skilled professionals do not find job satisfaction upon completion of their training, they have made decisions to out-migrate to other African countries or outside the continent completely. The decision regarding the destination country is also influenced by the relative ease of transfer of assets and remittances between the destination country/region and the origin as the African scarcely severs his/her relationship with the origin. South Africa presents an interesting case, however. It has suffered a serious loss of white skills to Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the UK (Crush, 2002; van Rooyen, 2000). On the other hand, there are efforts at enticing black skilled professionals in a kind of "reverse brain drain" or "migration for development in Africa" (Shaw, 2007). Thus, South Africa's role in the region is complex: it is attracting large scale intercontinental migrants from unstable states, whilst suffering from a "brain drain" of its own.

Socio-culturally, there are clans and ethnic groups in Africa that historically have been migratory both as internal and international migrants. For example, through the migratory character of the Hausa in northern Nigeria,

today, Hausa language is spoken across the whole of the West Africa sub-region. Another example is Swahili that is spoken across all of East Africa. In almost every country in Africa, one can identify some traditional and ethnic groups as championing the migration streams. In addition, people have migrated for the purpose of family re-union particularly for females to re-join their husbands/spouses who have earlier out-migrated (See Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009). Furthermore, in many countries of Africa, anecdotal reports indicate a general culture of respect for people who have ever migrated outside their own countries particularly when they are able to achieve economic prosperity. The desire to be accorded such a respect may, therefore, push many people to join the migration from their countries of origin to different destinations within and outside Africa. In addition, some have been obliged to migrate due to some chieftaincy/ethnic disturbances and conflicts initially as internally displaced persons or internal migrants but eventually as international migrants (Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2009). The ongoing Syrian civil war lends credence to migration of people in response to civil disturbances within countries.

It is equally important to emphasise the role of the environment as a driver to migration in Africa. Climate change and related challenges have increasingly become important considerations for migration especially where adaptation strategies are not considered an option for one's enhanced livelihood. Such migrants become environmental refugees due to the threat posed to their livelihoods by climate change (SUNY LEVIN Institute, nd). There are indeed many migrants within Africa who qualify more as environmental migrants than economic and are more likely to migrate as seasonal migrants. For example, the movement of Fulani herdsmen from the Sahelian countries of Mali, Niger, Chad and Burkina Faso to the west coast to the south during periods of drought has become a regular occurrence within the West African Region and has currently become a source of conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers of communities in which they operate (Antwi, 2013).

Linked to the environmental factor is the political environment which could propel spontaneous movements during periods of political instability. Most of refugee movements on the African continent are the result of political instability especially after disputed election results. The examples of Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya are cases in point. This has produced huge populations as refugees or asylum seekers who today continue to live in their host countries with no intention of return. It

is estimated that in 2010, 13% of the 19.3 million persons who migrated out of their countries of birth were refugees while 87% moved to find jobs, usually in urban areas of a neighbouring country (UN, 2009). For example, the CNN (2015) reports of concern by the Kenyan Government for the UNHCR to relocate the Dedaab Refugee Camp in Kenya, the world's largest refugee camp which hosts more than 600,000 refugees or they would relocate it to Somalia. This refugee camp hosts refugees from Somalia, Uganda and Ethiopia.

It is important to stress that these factors do not operate in isolation of each other but there is always interaction among these factor. However, depending on which of them is the strongest driver at any given point in time, migration could be a movement out of poverty for many Africans or constitute a serious challenge for the sending or destination region's socio-economic development, thereby, calling for specific policy and programme interventions.

Challenges of International Migration for Africa

International migration in Africa has challenges as well as opportunities. The challenges could vary depending on the type of migrant involved in terms of the skills he/she possesses, and the choice of destination country and the extent to which he/she is able to integrate into the destination country's socio-economic structure. Depending on which of these is at play, migration could be an effective vehicle for the continent's socio-economic advancement and poverty reduction.

The emigration of health professionals and other skilled workers from the continent became a major challenge in the 1990s which had a big negative impact on the health delivery system in many African countries (See Nyongator and Dovlo, 2005). The education sector has suffered the same fate. The International Organisation on Migration's (IOM, 2009) study on Ghana, reports that the education sector lost more than 60 per cent of faculty positions at the polytechnics and 40 per cent at public universities. It is to be noted that the high infant and under-five mortality rates during the period 1998-2003 in Ghana were blamed on the massive emigration of doctors and nurses from Ghana to the UK and North America.

According to the IOM (2009) 56 per cent of doctors and 24 per cent of nurses trained in Ghana are working abroad, which constitutes a loss to the health sector in particular. What is interesting, however, is that in some cases, the migration of such trained professionals becomes a brain

waste not simply by their absence from the origin but most importantly when they fail to secure jobs in the profession for which they are trained. For example, anecdotal reports indicate that some trained medical practitioners from some African countries are compelled to initially find work as taxi drivers and at Gas station attendants before they get jobs that are related to their training upon their migration abroad. Although these medical professionals may be earning incomes to support families back home, they nonetheless constitute a big loss to the economy at home at the time they do not practise their profession. It is hoped that the trend will reverse with not many health workers emigrating while some of those who earlier emigrated will return with enhanced skills to support health delivery in the country. This thinking is based on policies that have been adopted, including improved conditions of service for health workers and other public sector employees with reference to the Single Spine Salary Scheme. Furthermore, the establishment of the Ghana College of Physicians and Surgeons has provided opportunities for specialization by health care practitioners at home and, therefore, could contribute to the retention of trained doctors and nurses in the country.

Irregular international migration is a big challenge for Africa especially at the destination area. Cross-border migration is one aspect of irregular migration whose volume is often difficult to document. This has the tendency to pose national security challenges between the origin and destination countries especially when most African countries have porous borders. Besides, there are situations where regular migrants become irregular migrants after they over stay beyond the expiry of their visa and are not ready to return to their country of origin.

Linked to irregular or undocumented migration is the challenge of xenophobia which these irregular migrants face in some destination countries especially when they are perceived to be taking over jobs that nationals are expected to be engaged in for a living. Xenophobia treatment was not too long ago meted out to some Zimbabwean and other African migrants in South Africa with some of them being lynched for the simple reason that they were migrants in a foreign country. According to Crush (2001), intolerance of South African citizens for other non-citizens, refugees and migrants has increased since 1994. When such xenophobic attitudes are not handled in diplomatically acceptable ways, it could negatively affect bilateral relations between the sending and receiving countries.

In the light of the large youthful population that Africa is characterised with, migration involving the youth could contribute to reduce youth unemployment in many African countries. However, depending on the type of skills that migrate and the ability of the sending country to replace the lost skills, it could constitute a serious brain drain which could negatively affect the origin country's development. For example, in the 1990s when there was a wave of out-migration of medical and health professionals from the continent, the health delivery systems in Africa were seriously challenged. For example, according to Nyonator and Dovlo (2005), Ghana lost 50 per cent of its professional nurses to the United Kingdom, United States of America and Canada.

Already, many cities and urban centres in Africa are full of jobless youth which could easily trigger a wave of criminal activities in their quest to finding a living. Cases of armed robbery in Africa today have mainly the youth, at times as young as 18 years or younger as the perpetrators. For example, in a feature article, Baafi (2014) raises concern about several reported cases of armed robbery across Ghana that had many Juveniles involved as perpetrators. Failure to find jobs for these teeming jobless youth may be blamed for many of the armed robbery activities among many young people in some African countries. Besides, trafficking in human beings continues to be a big challenge with unscrupulous traffickers taking advantage of frustrated youth who are desirous to migrate but have no means of doing so due to their poor financial situations (See Adepoju, 2005). These unsuspecting trafficked youth could be enrolled in armed robbery, commercial sex activities and other criminal acts in order to pay their traffickers. The reproductive health challenges of human trafficking are quite obvious since most of the trafficked children and youth become vulnerable and are prepared to do anything to make a living and in the process inflict reproductive health and physical risks upon themselves (See Adepoju, 2005).

There are also other social challenges which result from acculturation which is today changing some of Africa's rich traditions and culture. In spite of the positive impacts that the inter-mingling of cultures through international migration has brought about due to the learning of new ideas, skills and modernisation, migration is also perceived to be associated with some negative practices. Practices like pre-marital sex, provocative dressing, eating habits and some sexual practices that hitherto were unknown to the African society are today being glorified, the consequence of which can be

found in the emergence of HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections.

Furthermore, international migration is increasingly affecting the cost of funerals in many African societies. In some cases, corpses are kept in the morgue for ridiculously long periods because a migrant son, daughter or relative of the deceased has to be present before burial and funeral rites could take place (See Adomako, 2007). These few Africans in the diaspora who have made it invest so much in funerals to the amazement of people while the poor in the families are left without descent livelihoods.

The feminization of international migration also poses challenges for marital stability when one of the spouses migrates. Marital separation and dissolution could affect poverty situations among households with single parents, childrearing, etc., with a combined effect of creating an environment for child delinquency.

Whether national or international, migration in Africa in particular is generally circular. People who leave their places of origin usually come back eventually either in the short term or in the long term. In the interim, they maintain a continuous link with their places of origin through visits. African migrants often visit home during festive occasions such as Christmas and local festivals, most of which are given over to revelry, in an atmosphere of laxity and permissiveness leading to different reproductive health challenges (Anarfi, nd). This kind of situation has a major implication for the spread of diseases, especially HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections (See Anarfi, nd). Effective control of such diseases which have the human being as both the vector and the host simultaneously would require a regional effort.

Policies to institutionally Strengthen Knowledge and Evidence Base for Migration Data

International migration analysis in Africa suffers from non-availability of current and accurate data. For example, in Ghana, there are different estimates for the number of Ghanaian emigrants outside the country. For example, Ghana's emigrant population has in the past been estimated to range widely from a low of 1.5 million to three million by different institutions and individual researchers (See Quartey, 2009). This makes it difficult for policy actions since one is not in a position to know which of the estimates is more accurate. Data on immigrants are also equally problematic in view of the porousness of the borders such that at no point in time do

countries know the size of the immigrant population they are confronted with.

In the light of the foregoing challenge, there is the need for policy actions to ensure regular data for examining and monitoring both emigration and immigration from and to countries in Africa. First, the demographic and health survey has become a major source of data at five year interval providing nationally-representative data on the demographic and health situation in many countries in Africa. Ghana has had six of such surveys since 1988. Unfortunately, there is no such arrangement for collecting migration data whether international or internal. In Ghana, the only national migration survey was carried out in 1995 (Ghana Statistical Service, 1995). African countries are, therefore, called upon to take this as a matter of priority to institute measures to invest in periodic national surveys on migration to collect relevant information for analysis to inform policy interventions. It is possible that, when African countries take this initiative, development partners will rally behind them with funding support.

Secondly, African countries should strengthen systems in place at their foreign missions to engage the diaspora in matters related to data collection. This calls for the restructuring of these missions to be friendly to their nationals abroad and position themselves to seek the interest of their emigrants outside. In many African countries, there are various home-based voluntary associations formed by the diaspora that could be engaged to facilitate data collection on their members at the major destination countries. The foreign missions should, in addition to issuing visas for potential immigrants into Africa, be actively involved in building reliable databases on their nationals in the destination countries. The IOM/ Centre for Migration Studies project on diaspora engagement educational campaign in Ghana should be strengthened to reach out to many Ghanaians in the diaspora.

It is also important to establish centres within research institutions or strengthen existing ones and equip them for data collection. In Ghana, for example, there is a centre for migration studies established within the University of Ghana that not only embarks on academic training but is engaged in policy research on both internal and international migration. There is also the Centre for Refugee Studies at the Kenyatta University in Kenya. Avenues should also be found to have partnership between these research institutions and policy in order for research output to feed directly into policy decisions on migration.

Above all, African countries' embassies and missions in destination countries should provide their nationals with appropriate information on the rules that guide entry, residence and work in addition to their rights and obligations in receiving societies. To achieve this, centres for information provision for potential migrants could be established to facilitate such accurate information provision in order for potential migrants to migrate based on informed decision-making.

Contribution of International Migration for Women's Increased Mobility and Empowerment

International migration is increasingly becoming feminized in Africa as elsewhere in the world with women equally taking part in decisions to migrate with or without their spouses. According to a press release at the UN Commission on Population and Development in 2006, women constitute 49.6 per cent of global migratory flows with variation between countries (United Nations, 2006). This has largely been brought about by increased education of women in many countries of Africa. As more women in Africa embark on international migration, their world view is increasingly being broadened to compete with their male counterparts in national decision-making processes. Furthermore, international migration has benefited women in the area of skill acquisition and enhancement. Women entrepreneurs are fast becoming more recognised and are contributing immensely towards development in their home countries as well as in the destination countries.

Through these avenues women are increasingly becoming empowered to take decisions that affect them without too much dependence on men or spouses. This is because international migration has the potential to break traditional barriers that in the past confined women to so-called roles prescribed by culture and tradition including childbearing. Gender roles are, consequently, changing with males who hitherto were not expected to engage in activities that were traditionally reserved for women such as attending to the kitchen and child care in the home. These are all positive developments although in extreme cases, they have the potential to lead to increasing number of single mothers which could also affect child rearing.

Policies to Mitigate the Adverse Effects of Skilled Migration in Africa

When skilled professionals emigrate, it leads to initial brain drain and undermines institutions that require their services as in the health and educational sectors. Although at the end, their enhanced skills could pay for the initial loss upon their return, not all the emigrant skilled professionals do return and in time to contribute to the strengthening of institutions at home. There is, therefore, the need to adopt policies and measures to address these challenges whenever they arise.

In order to overcome these challenges, African countries are invited to develop a system that enables the sending country to tap the emigrant rich human capital for its development and comfortably embrace globalisation and its ramifications in the country by engaging in bi-lateral agreements for the exchange of both students and professionals, among them university lecturers, researchers, doctors, nurses, engineers, etc. Today, many universities in Africa have memorandum of understanding (MoU) with other universities outside the continent, but it is important that these MoUs are made to be operational to enhance academic exchanges. Alongside these bi-lateral agreements, conscious efforts should be made to improve conditions of service for these skilled professional workers at home to retain them.

Besides, countries could institute appropriate mechanisms, including effective bonding systems, to ensure that the nationals who benefit from training programmes at home are encouraged to stay and work in their countries of origin for a stipulated period after participating in such a programme and an effective monitoring system put in place to avoid absconding.

Furthermore, the designated ministries of youth and sports, sporting associations and youth groups should be strengthened to work out a system where young, talented sportsmen and women who practise their careers abroad are encouraged to voluntarily contribute some proportion of their earnings towards the development of not only sports in the home country but other sectors in support of the development agenda back home. Other professionals living outside their countries of origin should be encouraged to make similar voluntary contributions as acts of patriotism. This is, however, dependent on a demonstration of proper management of funds received by responsible institutions of state in the countries of

origin. Similar arrangements should be made through bi-lateral agreements with the destination countries for some negotiated proportion of incomes earned by these skilled professional emigrants to be transferred back to the sending countries to address the challenges their emigration may cause at the sending country.

African countries should also consider promoting and facilitating return in the form of virtual or actual, temporary or permanent and voluntarily of qualified emigrant Africans, as a way of encouraging them to transfer knowledge, skills and technology back home to support development goals. Already, African emigrants are making immense contributions in the form of remittances for Africa's development particularly at the household consumption level. Avenues should be found to reduce the cost of transfer of remittances in order to encourage more emigrants to use formal institutions in sending these remittances to facilitate effective tracking and documentation. More specifically, governments of countries of origin should consider reducing import taxes for emigrants in the diaspora to encourage them to contribute more towards development of their countries of origin.

There is also the need to develop and promote incentives to encourage professionals within countries of origin to stay while attracting others who have emigrated to return. This should include creation of employment opportunities as well as well-targeted, re-integration and project-oriented programmes through co-operation between sending destination countries. Concerns about the long period return professionals have to wait to go through processes towards being re-admitted to practise their professions on their return will require review to reduce the frustrations that return professionals tend to face for their re-integration. Efforts should equally be made towards removing perceived antagonism between persons who never migrated and return migrants regarding job placement in the countries of origin.

Similarly, to avoid unnecessary rivalry, an Africa-Europe experts meeting on trafficking in human beings, sponsored by the governments of Sweden and Italy in September 2002, called for a number of measures to be taken in both origin and destination countries (Adepoju, 2005). These involved the prevention and combating of trafficking, and awareness-raising; the protection of and assistance to victims; the creation of legislative framework for dealing with human trafficking and law enforcement; and cooperation and coordination within and between states and regions (Adepoju, 2005:95). In Turin, Italy, one of the main destinations of trafficked Nigerian women,

an outreach unit assisted 1250 victims, 60 per cent of them Nigerians, with access to health and other welfare services (Nwogu, 2006). It is against this background that in Ghana the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694) has been passed but requires full enforcement.

African countries need to ensure that their specific interests and concerns are adequately reflected in any bilateral or multilateral migration negotiations. Issues relating to the treatment of their nationals living and working in regular situations in EU countries, the rights of irregular migrants to basic services, and the need to review the unfair trade regimes which impoverish millions of their nationals who are engaged in farming at home and abroad should assume centre stage in future migration agreements.

To be able to achieve all these, countries in Africa should consider adopting comprehensive national migration policies as a matter of priority. At the moment, many African countries do not have a national migration policy that can be used in initiating bi-lateral discussions with the receiving countries. Ghana has, however, developed a national migration policy that is due to be launched. It is also in the process of developing a diaspora engagement policy. These migration policies should have specific strategies and mechanisms that would address both internal and international migration challenges with the primary goal of minimizing the costs of migration to Africa while maximizing the benefits. When such a comprehensive policy is adopted in collaboration with African emigrant or diaspora groups, international migration could be practically made to achieve the objective of being a movement out of poverty.

Conclusion

International migration has and will continue to be an important process that will impact on the development agenda of many African countries beyond ICPD beyond 2014 and post-MDGs now in the form of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). As countries in Africa envision harnessing the demographic dividend that has been set in motion by on-going demographic transitions in many of the countries, patterns and trends in international migration will continue to be a key development planning issue. Depending on how Africa manages international migration within and outside the region through the adoption of comprehensive policy actions, Africa stands to benefit greatly from it. However, this will not come automatically and, therefore, efforts should be made to address the challenges that have been highlighted to be associated with international

migration in the region while maximising its benefits to move Africa's development faster than otherwise envisioned.

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Chapter Three

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF MIGRATION FROM AND TO GHANA

John Anarfi, Ofosu-Mensah & Emmanuel Ababio

1. Introduction

Migration movements 'have been a feature of Africa in the past and are one of its most important demographical features at the present day' (Anarfi, 1982). International migration within West Africa, and between the region and the rest of the continent, dates back to time immemorial (Arhin, 1978). The trans-Saharan caravan routes are among the earliest evidence of major interaction between West and North Africa for trading and exchange of scholars (Boahen 1966). Ibn Batuta, writing in the fifteenth century, and Leo Africanus, writing later in the sixteenth century, both made mention of the peaceful movement of people across ethnic boundaries (Batuta 1929; Africanus 1896). The presence of Europeans on the West Coast from the 1400s onwards disrupted the then existing north-south movement of people and goods. However, the contact with Europeans created new patterns of movement, first through slave trade and later colonisation, within the sub-region and with the rest of the world (Boahen 1966). The new dynamics that emerged continue to the present day. Virtually all the ethnic groups in present Ghana claim to have emigrated from somewhere other than their present location (Boahen 1975). The aim of this section is to examine briefly the history of migration from and to Ghana.

2. Historical Development of Emigration from Ghana

Based on the available evidence, four distinct phases have been identified in the international history of migration from and to Ghana. These are:

- a period of minimal emigration (preceding 1874),
- a period of initial emigration (1874-1956),
- a phase of large-scale emigration (1957-1964),
- a period of intensification and diasporisation of Ghanaians (1965-1980s).

From pre-colonial times up to the late 1960s, Ghana enjoyed relative economic prosperity and was the destination of many migrants from neighbouring West African countries (Anarfi 1982; see below). During the period under consideration, international movement from Ghana involved a relatively small number of people, most of whom were students and professionals. Most of these movements were to the United Kingdom and other English-speaking countries due to colonial links (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al., 2000). For instance, immigration data indicate that in 1967 there were only about 100 Ghanaian immigrants in Canada (Owusu, 2000). Some Ghanaian professionals also served in the public services of Gambia, Botswana and Sierra Leone. Other Ghanaians, mostly from fishing communities, were known to have migrated across international boundaries to Benin and Ivory Coast (Odotei, 2000).

The initial emigration of Ghanaians started after 1965. From that period Ghana experienced an economic crisis of an unprecedented magnitude (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al., 2000). This was manifested in a balance of payments deficit, growing unemployment and social malaise. The decline of the economy made Ghana unattractive to both foreigners and citizens. The proportion of foreigners in Ghana declined from 12.3 per cent in 1960 to 6.6 per cent in 1970. This trend was reinforced by the Aliens Compliance Order of 1970, whereby non-Ghanaians without valid documents were expelled from the country. Within that period Côte d'Ivoire emerged as one of the dominant points of destination in the sub-region.

By the end of the decade, many Ghanaians were travelling outside the country in search of jobs. A majority of these emigrants were professionals such as teachers, lawyers, and administrators, some of whom were invited by countries such as Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria and Zambia to assist with their national development after independence (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000). Others returned to work in the countries where they were trained when the economic conditions in Ghana began to be unfavourable. Moreover there were those who travelled initially for education and/or training but stayed behind after their programme of study. There were also increasing numbers of Ghanaians who were born abroad and either stayed behind when their parents returned to Ghana or went back when they were old enough or could afford to travel on their own.

The phase of the large-scale emigration began in the early 1980s when unskilled and semiskilled Ghanaians emigrated out of the country in search of jobs in neighbouring West African countries (Anarfi, 1982). The number

of professionals migrating also increased in response to the demand for their labour abroad and at a time when the economy had collapsed and there were shortages of basic items including detergents and food. Migration then became one of the basic survival strategies adopted by individuals and families to enable them to cope with difficult economic conditions.

In the early 1980s unofficial figures put the average number of Ghanaians who migrated into Nigeria at about 300 per day (Anarfi, 1982). By December 1980 about 150,000 Ghanaians had registered with the Ghana High Commission in Lagos. The nature of the migration was such that the country lost much of its trained personnel. For example in the early 1980s, about 13 per cent of the 163 paid up members of the Ghana Institute of Architects had addresses in Nigeria. It was also estimated that about 50 per cent of the architects from the University of Science and Technology had migrated to Nigeria. Similarly the 1975 census of Côte d'Ivoire recorded over 42,000 Ghanaians in that country. In 1986, the number of Ghanaians in Côte d'Ivoire was estimated to be between 500,000 and 800,000 (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000). These figures compare with the total population of Ghana of just over 15 million in 1990.

The migration was aggravated by a loss of faith in Ghana's future due to bad governance by both the civilian and military regimes. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), formed in 1975, precipitated further Ghanaian emigration to neighbouring West African countries. One of the objectives of the regional organisation was to facilitate freedom of movement, residence and employment within the community. It is estimated that about two million Ghanaians emigrated between 1974 and 1981, mainly from the south. Another indication of the number of Ghanaians who travelled outside is derived from the estimated number of Ghanaians among people deported from Nigeria in 1983. It is estimated that of the two million people deported from Nigeria in 1983, between 900,000 and 1.2 million were Ghanaians. (Anarfi 1982). This figure excludes professionals and their dependants who were not affected by the deportation exercise. Adeku worked out the number of Ghanaian emigrants in major world regions from the 1984 census returns (Adeku 1995). According to this analysis, the number of emigrants at that time was 39,000, and this accounted for 0.3 per cent of the total resident population. Of that number, 47 per cent were females, contrary to the popular view that women emigrate less. In fact, women dominated short distance emigration to nearby countries, accounting for 64, 57 and 56 per cent respectively of

the Ghanaian emigrants in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo, whereas a higher proportion of men travelled further afield. (Anarfi 1982). In terms of age, female migrants were younger on the whole than male migrants. For instance, at that time, the mean age of the female migrants fell between 15 and 24 years, while for men it was between 25 and 34 years.

The exodus of Ghanaians to neighbouring countries continued through the 1990s to recent times. Nonetheless, this most recent phase of the migration of Ghanaians is more importantly characterised by their diasporisation, which had begun in the middle of the 1980s. Van Hear classifies Ghana as one of the ten countries in Africa involved in producing a 'new diaspora' in recent times (Van Hear 1998). Since the 1990s, large numbers of Ghanaians have moved to major cities such as London, Amsterdam, Hamburg and New York (Black, Tiemoko et al., 2003). According to the UK Home Office, Ghana was among the top ten sending countries to the UK in 1996, and in the decade 1990–2001 about 21,485 Ghanaians entered the UK. Meanwhile, North America has become increasingly dominant as a destination for Ghanaians. From 1986 to 2001 49,703 Ghanaians emigrated to the US. By 2001, 104,000 Ghanaians were living in the US, whilst 14,335 were registered in Canada. (The Ghanaian diaspora also live in many more countries around the world. Data from the Ghana Immigration Service also indicate that more than 2,000 Ghanaians were deported from 58 countries around the world in 1993 (Van Hear, 1998).

A number of reasons explain this continued exodus. Overall, there is a long history of emigration from Ghana to other West African states, as well as Europe and North America, for various reasons including employment, education and training (Nuro, 1999). Initially, few of the migrants went as economic migrants. However, the increase in international out-migration in the late 1970s and early 1980s has been attributed to economic decline and political instability (Alderman, 1994; Fosu, 1992). By the mid-1980s, the economy of Ghana was growing at a negative rate. To arrest the decline, the government introduced a Structural Adjustment Programme, which included staff redeployment and the withdrawal of subsidies on social services such as health, transport and education. The unemployment and other hardships that occurred with the withdrawal of subsidies created conditions for further emigration.

Initially, Nigeria became a major point of destination for Ghanaians. But with the expulsions of Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1983 and 1985, the destination countries of migrants became more diverse, particularly for

professionals. Furthermore, some professionals took advantage of the then strong value of the Nigerian Naira to travel to Europe, America and other African countries while the semi-skilled workers tried to go wherever they could. It is estimated that between 1975 and 1981, Ghana may have lost about 14,000 qualified teachers, among them 3,000 university graduates (Rado, 1986). Both less and well qualified Ghanaians migrated to work in developing and developed countries as economic refugees, the latter group constituting the mass 'brain drain' from Ghana to the North, or what others call 'brain exchange' among developing countries. These highly qualified individuals migrated for a variety of reasons including lack of job satisfaction at place of origin, poor salary structure and prospects, and lack of motivation (Gould, 1993; Nuro, 1999).

Since the mid-1990s, there has been some evidence of return migration to Ghana. This has been attributed partly to the improvement in the Ghanaian economy vis-à-vis the economies of the neighbouring countries that once attracted Ghanaians (World Bank, 1994) as well as restrictions on Ghanaians travelling abroad (for instance, those travelling to EU countries) and repatriation of those without valid documents. Nonetheless, a second generation of Ghanaians living abroad is also growing, often settling there, but maintaining links and identifying with Ghana.

3. Historical Development of Migration Within Ghana and From Its Neighbours

Like emigration, migration movements within Ghana and from the rest of the West African region date back to a period long before colonisation. During this period trading activities stimulated flows of traders from neighbouring territories, who brought ivory, kola nuts, cattle, sheep, hides of wild animals and clothes to Salaga market for sale (Wolfson, 1958). Clapperton (1929) also describes the presence in the town of Kaiama of a caravan consisting of 'upward of 1000 men and women, and as many beast of burden on their way back to Hausaland after a long trading trip to Gonja and Ashanti.' According to Sudarkasa (1974-75), migration for the purpose of trade gained momentum in the colonial era. This situation resulted from the relative peace that prevailed in the region following the end of inter-tribal wars, and the establishment of better lines of communication. Rouch (1959) has noted that some of the migrants to Ghana, including many from Niger, Mali and Nigeria, were self-employed traders rather than wage labourers. Nypan's study of market traders in Accra also

documented the presence of a sizeable population of emigrant traders from Nigeria, Niger and Mali working in the city's markets. The activities of commercial migrants continued from the pre-colonial era to the early 1970s when it dwindled as a result of the Aliens Compliance Order, as well as the enactment of Ghana Business Promotion Act number 334 of August 1, 1970, which was also used as a weapon to chase commercial migrants away from the country (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000).

In addition to traders, the development of gold mines and cocoa farms from the late nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century country attracted many migrants. According to Amin (1974): "Of the regions which benefited from the contribution of the permanent migration, Southern Ghana is outstanding." He further stated that the migrants were predominantly unmarried young male adults who mainly went into agriculture and mining in the areas of attraction (Anarfi 1978). Mabogunje (1972) also identifies a similar pattern and explains it as a natural reaction to the geography of West Africa, which is such that the southern forest is more favourable to economic development than the savannah north. He also recognises Ghana as a major attraction for migrants in West Africa.

Labour migrants came from a variety of neighbouring countries in response to labour shortages in the colony (Ababio, 1999). For example, by the middle of 1909, the labour shortage was described by the authorities as 'acute'. The 1910 Annual Report of the West African Chamber of Mines complained that 'all the local supply of native labourers was exhausted and the industry was faced with a shortage'. This problem came about as a result of the fact that the Akan mine labourers resented underground work. They believed that underground mining was associated with unfriendly spirits. In addition, they viewed underground mining as a low status activity associated with slaves and therefore degrading. In addition, the Akan could reasonably subsist on cultivation of traditional food crops (yams, cocoyams, cassava, bananas, plantain and green vegetables) supplemented by hunting and fishing. Consequently there was no pressing need for them to sell their labour to Europeans to be able to earn a living.

The cocoa boom of the 1930s worsened the shortage of labour to work underground, as work in the cocoa industry was more attractive than work in the mines. Workers came from Liberia and Sierra Leone, whilst even larger numbers of unskilled migrant workers were recruited from the French West African colonies of Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Togo, Ivory Coast, Mali, Benin and Nigeria. In the 1913 population census it was

reported that the number of African foreigners working in the country was 4,142 (Cardinall, 1931). Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) was the main source of migrant labour in West Africa during the colonial era. Crozati (1891), who visited Mossi Country (in what is now Burkina Faso) in 1890, declared that the Mossi population 'is surprisingly dense for a Black country. There is here an enormous capital, immediately exploitable'. Albert Londres who also visited French West Africa in the 1920s reported that the Upper Volta was then considered a 'reservoir of manpower: 3 million Negroes. Everyone comes here to get them as one would go to wells for water' (Londres, 1929).

In practice, entire villages or entire clans of the people of Upper Volta moved to Ghana during the second and third decades of the century due to tribal uprising, military recruitment, forced labour and famine. An official British document puts the number of Upper Volta nationals who entered Ghana during 1927- 1928 at 120,000 (Anarfi, 1982). The 1931 population census of Ghana estimated that between 1921 and 1931 about 287,000 Upper Volta nationals moved into Ghana. Between 1948 and 1960, the percentage of the population in Ghana who were born abroad had practically doubled. In 1960, 195,000 Upper Volta nationals and 133,000 Upper Volta born persons were living in Ghana. (Anarfi 1982). The high influx of migrant labourers from the Northern Territories and Upper Volta towards the end of 1922 was the result of the outbreak of famine. Reports reaching the Chief Commissioner spoke of a growing threat of famine in north Mamprusi, Builsa and Zuarungu districts where villagers were reported to be eating grass weed. Due to the famine many young men between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five were forced to migrate in search of work in the mines (Ababio, 1999). Another reason for this migration was the need to satisfy social obligations such as the payment of dowries and bride wealth.

With the expanded cultivation of cocoa in the year following World War Two, Malians also emigrated to Ghana. Of the 350,000 Malians who were residing outside their country in 1960, as many as 19,367 were living in Ghana (Zacharia and Condé, 1978). Migrant labourers from the French West African countries migrated to work in the mines in the nineteenth century because of the French colonial government's policy of forced labour, oppressive direct taxation and corporal punishment. Between 1916 and 1917 more than 12,000 people left Ivory Coast for Ghana. Large numbers also came from Togo in 1910 with as many as 14,000 migrating from the Misahohe district alone (Ababio, 1999). The extent of the historical

migration of Togo nationals to Ghana can be indirectly obtained from the 1960 population census (Table 1).

Table 3.1.: Togo Nationals Born and Enumerated in Ghana

YEAR OF BIRTH	NUMBER ENUMERATED IN 1905-1960
1955–60	43,876
1950–55	25,856
1945–50	12,303
1940–45	6,821
1935–40	5,356
1930–35	4,151
1925–30	2,523
1920–25	587
1915–20	851
1910–15	492
1905–10	266
Before 1905	515

**Source: Derived from Ghana Census Office, 1960 Population Census, Vol. III, Accra*

Whilst movements from Upper Volta, Mali and Ivory Coast date to the early twentieth century, Nigerians were established in Ghana even at the beginning of the nineteenth century; indeed, their connection with the country goes as far back as the period of the caravan trade when Hausas were actively involved in that activity. By the second quarter of the twentieth century Nigerians constituted the largest single group among the subjects of other British West African colonies resident in Ghana and made up a sizeable proportion of all aliens in the country (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 3.2: Immigrants from Other British West African Colonies in 1931, by Province

Colony Provinces	Gambia	Sierra Leone	Nigeria	Total
Western Province	13	1,630	6,846	8,489
Central Province	5	59	10,518	10,582
Eastern Province	7	807	24,970	25,784
Ashanti	–	299	15,036	15,335
Northern Territory	–	–	6,378	6,378
Togoland	–	13	3,955	3,968
Total	25	2,808	67,703	70,536

Source: (Cardinall, 1931)

Table 3.3: Aliens Recorded by the 1931 Census

Country of Origin	Population	%
Other British West Africa Colonies	70,536	24.4
French West Africa Colonies	196,282	67.9
Liberia	6,812	2.3
Unclassified Areas	15,587	5.4
Total	289,217	100.0

Source: (Cardinall, 1931)

After independence in 1957, Ghana continued to attract migrants due to its relative affluence. In addition, the foreign policy of the government was geared towards the promotion of pan-Africanism; hence Ghana became a haven for a number of African freedom fighters and pan Africanists. Thus, in the 1960 census, non -Ghanaians accounted for 12 per cent of the enumerated population. Migrants from other African countries constituted 98 per cent of the foreign population (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al., 2000).

Apart from the labour migration into the country, there are also significant historical movements of people within Ghana itself. First, the movement of cash crop farmers within the country began well into the latter part of the nineteenth century. For example Akwapem farmers were migrating by the middle of the nineteenth century to empty lands where they could grow oil palm and subsistence crops, palm products then ranking as the leading cash crop of the area (Hill, 1963). Thus, long before colonisation, migratory movements in Ghana were strongly determined by the distribution of economic opportunities. Political exiles also moved out of the Asante region in 1818, 1824, 1832 and again in 1874 -5. After the 1890s, private individuals were also attracted to southern Ghana by the seemingly unlimited economic possibilities held out in an era of legitimate trade by the vast expanse of fertile, unoccupied agricultural lands of the region. (Addo-Fening 1987).

Second, not only did migrant workers seek out economic opportunities in agricultural work, but they were actively recruited by the colonial authorities. The reduction in the supply of Kru labourers due to the development of rubber plantation in Liberia (Szerezewski, 1965) and the unwillingness of the Akans to work underground made the mining companies consider importation of unskilled labourers from the north. The Northern Territories were deemed by the colonial regime to have little direct economic value; hence in the 1920s Governor Guggisberg designated the territories as a labour reserve for the supply of cheap labour for the mines and general labour in the cities in the South (Guggisberg, 1920). The period 1919 to 1924 saw the acceleration of labour recruitment in the Northern Territories. When Guggisberg launched his development plan in November 1919 he calculated that a labour force of 27,000 men would be needed and suggested that a special recruitment scheme be organised in the Northern Territories.

During that period the cocoa industry also required intensive labour and provided inducements in the form of high wages (Ababio, 1999). The period of inactivity in the Northern Territories corresponds to the time of peak agricultural demand in the cocoa regions of the forest zone, so that labourers from the Northern Territories could migrate to the south to work on a seasonal basis and return home for the single growing season. This form of migration has been occurring in the country since the beginning of the twentieth century. For example in 1945 about 46,000 labourers migrated from the Northern Territories to the south, and by 1954, this

kind of seasonal migration involved more than 200,000 labourers from the Northern Territories (Abdulai, 1999).

The decline in the cocoa industry in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in a dramatic fall in this kind of seasonal migration. As a result of the fall in demand for seasonal labour on cocoa farms, most of the seasonal migrants from the North found employment either in the informal sectors of the urban centres or plantations in neighbouring countries such as Côte d'Ivoire and Togo (Abdulai, 1999).

Permanent migration, on the other hand, mostly involves the movement of rural dwellers to other rural or urban areas for long periods of time. While in 1960 roughly 23 per cent of the population could be classified as urban, the proportion is now over 35 per cent. Migration from rural areas accounted for much of this growth, especially in the 1960s. This was largely due to the growth of industrial activities in the urban centres in the 1960s. Thereafter, high rates of natural increase in the urban population became a significant factor in urbanisation.

While those with skills and an adequate level of education move to the national and regional capitals, the less educated have continued to move instead to the mining and cocoa growing areas. According to the 1960 census, the Northern, Upper and Volta regions recorded net losses of enumerated native born of 157,000 and 95,000 respectively, while Ashanti, Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo imported almost 100,000 people each. The 1984 census report, however, reveals that Northern Region, Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo recorded net increases in their shares of the total population, while the rest of the regions experienced declines. Quite significant is Greater Accra's share of the total population, which increased from 7.3 per cent in 1960 to 10 per cent in 1970 and further to 11.6 per cent in 1984.

According to Abdul-Korah (2006), the 1980s marked the beginning of a significant shift in the pattern of Dagaaba migration to southern Ghana. Instead of the mining centres of Obuasi (Asante Region) and Prestea and Tarkwa (Western Region) respectively, many Dagaaba men and women have been migrating to predominantly agricultural areas in the Bono-Ahafo Region when they either lost their job or retired. The Dagaaba of the Upper West region have migrated to the southern part of Ghana in various capacities since the pre-colonial period. However, since the annexation of the Northern Territories (NTs) to the Gold Coast colony in 1901, the nature and pattern of Dagaaba migration to southern Ghana changed and

continues to change. Like all people of the then NTs, the British colonial state required the Dagaaba to contribute their labour power to colonial pursuits in the mines, plantations and other sectors of the colonial economy mainly in the southern and coastal regions of the country.

In response to this policy, the first batch of state-sponsored recruited labourers from the then North-Western Province was sent to the mines at Tarkwa in 1909. Thus, while colonial policies forced the first generation of Dagaaba migrants to migrate, others, especially after the abolition of forced labour in the Gold Coast in 1936, migrated to the south without force or coercion. Abdul-Korah (2006) posits that unlike their predecessors who migrated to the south for a different set of complex reasons, the mass movement of Dagaaba migrants to the Bono-Ahafo Region since the 1980s is mainly due to conditions internal to their communities-ecological conditions in the North-Western Province (Upper West Region) which began to visibly deteriorate in the 1970s.

4. Main Determinants of Internal and International Migration in Ghana

A range of individual, household, community and national factors influence migration. The high population growth rate in Ghana within the last three decades has generally increased the domestic supply of labour, and in areas like the Upper East Region, put pressure on the available cultivable land, thereby encouraging migration (Abdulai, 1999). Another factor that has influenced rural-urban migration in the country is the macro-economic environment. Through urban-biased policies, the terms of trade were turned against agriculture and the rural areas, contributing to wide rural-urban income differentials. Urban bias policies which include over-valued exchange rates, industrial protection and cheap food policies discriminated against agriculture in particular and rural areas in general. These policies suppressed farm prices and rural incomes, encouraging a shift of labour out of agricultural production and a subsequent increase in rural-urban migration. However, macro-economic and sector -specific policy reforms initiated in 1983 contributed to improving the domestic terms of trade in favour of the rural sector, thereby encouraging urban-rural migration. Rural-urban migration in the country has been largely induced by the expectation of higher wages in the destination region and is entirely consistent with the principle of comparative advantage.

Ewusi (1986) found that depressed social conditions at the place of origin is one of the compelling motivations for rural people to migrate. However, once they decide to migrate, individual migrants base their choice of destination primarily on the economic opportunities available at that end. In other words, the social conditions prevailing at their place of origin act as a push factor while the economic opportunities available in a particular town act as the pull factor attracting migrants to that locality (Johnson 1974). One survey of internal migration and urbanisation in Ghana revealed that over 80 per cent of the respondents gave economic reasons for migrating from their previous locations, suggesting that income differentials contribute significantly to internal migration in the country. The pattern of internal migration in the country has also been influenced by the stark differences in the levels of poverty between north and south, as well as their respective capacities to respond to new economic opportunities.

The pattern of socio-economic development in Ghana has created three distinct geographic identities. These are the coastal zone dominated by Accra-Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi; a middle zone with Kumasi as its centre; and the northern savannah zone with Tamale as the core. The coastal zone, as the most industrialised and urbanised area in the country, has been the focus of internal migration since the beginning of the last century. With the opening of Takoradi as a deep-sea port in 1927, Sekondi-Takoradi became another point of attraction for migrants in addition to Accra along the coast. In the 1960s, the development of Tema port and township shifted the focus of migration back to the Accra-Tema metropolitan area. The middle zone, with its forest, mining and agricultural potential, was the centre of the old Ashanti Empire. With its natural endowment, the middle belt became an area of rapid socio - economic development in the 1980s. Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti region, became a dominant centre in the country and became the focus of migration from the savannah belt (Nabila, 1986).

Accounting for about half the land area of Ghana, the northern savannah zone has, until quite recently, been a net out migration area. With its seasonal rainfall and absence of any large scale industrial activities, and general neglect, the area has provided labour for the cocoa and the mining industries in the middle zone as well as to the developed coastal zone. The relative affluence of the coastal zone and the middle belt created focal points for migration, first within the country and subsequently outside the country. The rapid expansion of the economy in the 1960s also provided

impetus for international migration, initially to pursue further education in most cases (Nabila, 1986).

Besides wage differentials, the disproportionate opportunities for development and welfare in towns have made them relatively more attractive. This has included investment in productive enterprises such as factories and investment in infrastructure such as water supplies or medical services. This and many actions by the government to make urban areas more attractive have encouraged rural-urban migration (Ewusi, 1986). As in many other African countries, most of the post-independence investment in projects outside agriculture were part of the then government's industrialisation strategy. Most of the public corporations established to create employment were sited in urban areas, and as such attracted labour from the rural areas. For example, the Greater Accra Region, which is the most urbanised region in the country, recorded a population growth rate of 5.6 per cent between 1960 and 1970, while the national average was 2.4 per cent. However, a 1960 sample survey showed that the region had the least natural increase, indicating that a large proportion of the growth of the population in 1970 was due to migration from other areas (Abdulai, 1999).

Relative to the share of the sector in the entire economy (on average about 51 per cent of GDP between 1980 -91), budgetary allocation to the agricultural sector was particularly low. For instance, in spite of the government's pledge to increase support to the sector, budgetary allocation to the agricultural sector declined from 10.4 per cent in 1983, to as low as an average of about 4 per cent per annum in 1986- 90. Other direct urban-biased policies such as minimum wage legislation were also implemented to protect the interest of organised urban employees. These minimum wage rates, which in some cases were put above the market clearing wage rate, further reinforced rural-urban wage differentials, thus encouraging rural-urban migration (Abdulai, 1999).

An additional factor that has encouraged increased inter-sectorial labour movement is the decline in the costs of transportation and communication. The extension of the road network into rural areas has significantly decreased the cost of movement of people. In many cases migrants are no longer faced with an unknown destination as a result of the improved communication systems. The easier movement back and forth from rural and urban areas serves to improve information and as such lowers the risks of movement, thereby increasing the chances of rural residents locating jobs in the urban centres (Abdulai, 1999).

Beals and Menezes (1970) have shown how reduced transport costs between the southern and the northern parts of Ghana accelerated the North-South migration in the late 1960s and 1970s. De Graft Johnson (1974) also showed that the number of migrants between Greater Accra and each of the remaining regions in the country is inversely proportional to the distance between them. This suggests that distance between the source and the destination and by implication transport costs have influenced the inflow of migrants from the other regions into Greater Accra. Meanwhile a study of migration from the Upper East region showed that migration in the late 1980s was taking around half of all working age males, and 15 per cent of working age females to southern Ghana for periods of at least a year (Cleveland, 1991). The World Bank *Voices of the Poor* Report on Ghana argues that urban and rural young people feel they have no choice but to leave home in search of work, since successful generation of remittances is likely to make the difference between food security and a lack of it for their families (Kunfaa, 1999).

In addition to the factors discussed above, family oriented issues have also contributed to migration. Women migrate to join their husbands. A nationwide survey conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service in 1995 revealed that as much as 64 per cent of the rural-urban migrants moved to join their families. Similarly, data from the Ghana Living Standards Survey of 1997/98 show 60 per cent of migrants reporting marriage or other family reasons as the cause of their migration, with only 25 per cent reporting work reasons. The results obtained, however, need to be interpreted with caution: for example, the GSS household samples included members who were at least seven years old, whilst the GLSS included all household members over 15. In both cases, this means many dependents of parents who migrated for economic reasons may be classified as having moved for family reasons. The barriers to international migrations have also influenced labour migration and urbanisation in the country.

As rural dwellers find it increasingly difficult to migrate beyond the borders of the country, they are compelled to settle in the urban areas, provided the perceived conditions are better than those at the place of origin (Abdulai, 1999).

As indicated earlier, policy reforms initiated in 1983 altered the domestic terms of trade in favour of the rural sector. This encouraged reverse migration, as urban dwellers returned to the farm. A survey by the Ghana Statistical Service published with the World Bank on current

and prior employment for over 8,000 individuals in Ghana revealed that among individuals who have changed occupations during the period, those moving from non-agricultural jobs into agricultural jobs outnumbered those moving in the opposite direction by a ratio of two-to-one (Abdulai, 1999). These survey data suggest a significant reverse migration from urban to rural areas after the reform programme was initiated, although not all agricultural occupations imply rural residence nor do all non-agricultural occupations imply urban residence. A study by Oti Boateng et al. (1990) using 1987-88 household survey data showed that over 65 per cent of the total population that fell below a poverty line of about US\$165 per annum were at that time based in rural areas, while 27 per cent were based in urban areas excluding Accra.

The transition of Ghana from the status of a net immigration country to one of net emigration in the last two decades has been attributed to internal political instability, economic mismanagement and external conditions unfavourable to the Ghanaian economy (Rimmer, 1993; Peil, 1995). It runs counter to the usual transition of countries from net emigration to net immigration (Findlay, Jones et al., 1998). However, whilst national mismanagement and associated economic and political problems provided the 'push' for this unusual migration transition, the booming economies of neighbouring African countries and in Europe also constituted a 'pull' for migration (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al., 2000). In addition, one important factor relevant in the Ghanaian context is the sex of the individual involved in the migration phenomenon. Societal norms and traditions of most tribes (if not all) in Ghana are such that there is a bias in favour of men, and discrimination against women. It is possible that this discrimination could be reflected in the migration decision-making process, by making it more difficult for women to move (Treveh, 1997), although the evidence suggests that women do migrate as well as men. (Anarfi et al, 2000).

5. Key Gaps

Despite a considerable body of material on migration within and from Ghana, some gaps remain in the literature and in public policy. First, it is clear that in terms of recent studies, more attention has been paid to international migration than to movement within the country, even though the latter remains significant and is almost certainly more in reach of the poorest sections of the population. The same is broadly true of policy towards migration which, as can be seen in the previous section, is overwhelmingly

orientated at present towards international migrants. Second, the pattern of diversification of migration movements appears to apply not only to international migration (in terms of new countries of destination) but also to internal migration, where there is some evidence that traditional patterns of rural-urban migration and movement to cocoa and coffee plantation areas are breaking down. One interesting area to explore is the extent to which new forms of production in Ghana are generating new migration flows – as for example with the shift in patterns of export crop production, which may be drawing workers into areas producing pineapples and other export crops. Meanwhile, within internal migration, the movement of children in particular is clearly an important phenomenon, but one that remains relatively poorly understood.

Finally, despite the interest it has already generated, it is clear that the area of professional mobility remains a key issue for policy makers in Ghana, and here, there are a number of ways in which existing studies could be extended. For example, although there has been some work on the movement of health professionals out of the country, and public policy that responds to this movement, there remains scope both to analyse the dynamic effects of professional mobility of doctors and nurses on medical and health training and labour markets within the country. There is also value in exploring the extent of professional mobility in other occupational categories, as well as examining the link between the availability and quality of higher education in Ghana and professional mobility in search of such training.

6. Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that migration is a way of life in West Africa and that, the reason why people migrate are not static. The movements from the sub-region to other parts of Africa and outside have been shaped by historical, political, demographic, ecological and economic factors. Among Ghanaians, migration is a way of life and it continues to be a significant demographic feature of the population. It has evolved from the pre-colonial era when there were no distinct national boundaries through the colonial era to the present day. In view of this, there was no distinction between internal and international migration. During that period, migration was initially seen as population movement in response to needs like trading activities, favourable ecological conditions, fertile lands for agriculture, food, shelter as well as greater security during the period of tribal warfare.

The activities of commercial migrants continued from the pre-colonial era to the early 1970s.

In addition, the development of gold mines and cocoa farms during the colonial administration attracted many migrants. Labour migrants came from a variety of neighbouring countries in response to labour shortages in the colony.

The development of colonial policies acted as a push factor for people to migrate from one area to another. Movements of people from outside and within the country continued unabated during the post-independence era. Political instability and bad governance which resulted in economic crisis of an unprecedented magnitude from the 1960s up to the 1980s led many Ghanaians to emigrate out of the country in search of jobs in neighbouring West African countries. Some also moved to major cities in Europe, America and Canada.

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Chapter Four

LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS OF MIGRATION IN GHANA— A CRITICAL REVIEW

Emmanuel Yaw Benneh

INTRODUCTION

Migration policies as stated by Kritz constitute an integral element of migration systems.¹ Within that context, analysis of migration policies often elucidate that they interrelate with the other objectives of the State. Crucially, however, migration policies are often translated into more or less restrictive regulatory frameworks comprising immigration laws for the entry, residence and employment of foreigners. This is the case for instance in Ghana which after independence in 1957 enacted the *Aliens Act, 1963* (Act 160). Before Act 160 was passed, immigration in Ghana was managed by a Colonial Ordinance having as its focus aliens who were mainly colonial civil servants and a few traders and missionaries.

Under the heading “Entry into Ghana”, Act 160 provided that any foreigner arriving in the country by sea, land or air should appear before an immigration officer for examination, in accordance with existing requirements prior to entry. Exceptions were made to this rule for persons who arrived in an aircraft or sea vessel, in direct transit to a third country, or in the case of air travel who do not leave the precincts of the airport. It was also provided that the immigration officer could refuse admission to any person who did not meet the conditions of entry, such as not being in possession of a valid travel document or visa, or being a prohibited immigrant. These rules were intended to achieve a host of purposes, namely, to secure national frontiers, to control and monitor legal immigration, to arrest illegal immigration and its consequences, to promote social cohesion and to facilitate genuine tourism.

Under Section 10 (1) of Act 160, titled “Residence and Employment of Aliens in Ghana” employers were forbidden from engaging the services of expatriates or aliens to reside and work in the country, “except in accordance with a licence in writing granted by the Minister” through the Immigration

Quota System and which might be renewed or revoked. This policy was so formulated to regulate immigrant activities and protect the indigenous labour market from undue foreign competition and the “plundering” of national resources by “unscrupulous aliens”. The Act also provided that aliens who intended to stay in the country for longer periods (usually more than a year) as dependents or students were required to apply for Residence Permits. Aliens who were entitled to work required both Residence and Work Permits and could be guilty of an offence if they broke conditions on which the Permits were issued, such as changing employment or business, being employed without Work Permit or failing to renew permits on expiry. The Act was also meant to contribute to establishing a conducive and protected milieu for sound business. It is also salutary to recall that in 1969, the Government of Ghana under the Progress Party administration issued the Aliens Compliance Order, which required all aliens in Ghana to obtain the relevant permits within 2 weeks or face expulsion. This led to the first and the largest deportation exercise carried out in Ghana, affecting hundreds of thousands of mostly migrant Africans from the neighbouring countries of Togo, Benin (then Dahomey), La Cote d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso (then Upper Volta), Niger, Mali and Nigeria.

The *Aliens Act* was passed within a certain historical context. As such, by the close of the 1990s, the law on immigration was updated to conform to current developments and policies and the country’s international obligations, in particular, under the *Treaty of ECOWAS2 and its Free Movement Protocols*,³ hence, the passage of the *Immigration Act, 2000*, (Act 573) repealed Act 160 and its Amendments.⁴

In the analysis which follows, we shall find that Act 573, the current immigration legislation, lays down provisions, *inter alia*, on the “admission, residence, employment and removal of foreign nationals”. But, in fact, we will also find that migration governance in Ghana is also done through a range of rights and freedoms enshrined in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, Acts of Parliament incorporating the international legal obligations of Ghana, other statutes and regulations as well as other national policies.

The purpose of this article is to review the national legal and policy frameworks of migration in Ghana. Part 1 focuses on an examination of the major points of the legal frameworks and associated gaps. Part 2 is devoted to a discussion of the policy frameworks and associated gaps, challenges and concerns that require attention. The article concludes with the observation in Part 2 that, despite the far-reaching impact of migration

on several areas of national life, Ghana has no comprehensive national legal or policy frameworks on migration and there appears as well limited coherence in existing migration related laws and policies. Associated with this is the absence of a comprehensive institutional architecture and capacity for managing migration in Ghana. This state of affairs calls for a more coherent legal framework and the development of a comprehensive national policy to respond to the challenges arising from increased internal and international migration.

PART 1: NATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF MIGRATION

States do possess broad authority to regulate the movement of foreign nationals across their borders. National laws on immigration largely support this view as evidenced by the *Immigration Act, 2000*, (Act 573) of Ghana. The main features of this legislation are examined below. Curiously, however, unlike immigration, there does not exist a broad national legal framework governing emigration from Ghana other than the 1992 Constitution of Ghana which guarantees the right of Ghanaians to emigrate and the Representation of Peoples Amendment Act, 2006 (Act 669) which allows Ghanaian emigrants to participate in the country's democratic process through voting in the general elections.

A. Immigration Act, 2000, (Act 573) and Immigration Regulations, 2001 (L.I 1691)

The Immigration Act, 2000, (Act 573) seeks to provide in one document, all of the laws relating to immigration in Ghana. It lays down provisions, *inter alia*, on the “admission, residence, employment and removal of foreign nationals”. Part 1 of the Act covers most of the repealed provisions of Act 160 such as embarkation and disembarkation at approved points and appearance before immigration officers on arrival and departure. Section 4 of the Act prescribes the documents which a potential entrant in Ghana must possess as including a valid passport or other travel document and a valid visa. Persons who occupy an exempt status do not require entry visas by reason of some treaty or other obligation assumed by the Republic of Ghana. Such exempt persons include nationals of the 15-member Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS),⁵ Malaysia and Kenya. Nationals of the ECOWAS (Community Citizens) are granted a maximum

period of 90 days visitor's permit. The permit is subject to renewal when on request the applicant provides reasonable grounds to justify the request. This practice is in consonance with the international obligations of Ghana under the relevant ECOWAS Protocols and in fulfillment of the need to attain full regional integration in the West African sub-region. However, it is noteworthy that the Act as such does not make specific provisions for Community citizens.⁶ Prohibited immigrants are not permitted entry into Ghana.⁷

The Immigration Act, Act 573, does not deal with the process of integration and acquisition of Ghanaian citizenship. These matters are dealt with by the Ghanaian Constitution of 1992 and the *Citizenship Act 2000*, Act 591, as discussed below. But Act 573 is significant here because it introduces new categories of status, including the indefinite residence status and right of abode, which may be conferred on foreign nationals.

The major points of these categories under Act 573 may be summarized. An indefinite residence status is conferred on foreign nationals who have stayed in the country for several years⁸ and are adjudged, among others, to have the genuine desire to stay in the country and have made or are "capable of making a substantial contribution to the development of Ghana". Similarly, indefinite residence status may be conferred on foreign spouses, except that they have less stringent conditions to fulfil.⁹ A right of abode is conferred on a person who either by lineage or by right to citizenship, as by adoption, registration or naturalization, and who by reason of his acquisition of a foreign nationality has lost his Ghanaian citizenship.¹⁰ In addition, this status may be conferred on persons of African descent in the Diaspora.¹¹

B. Citizenship Regime

Citizenship, as has been stated elsewhere, defines the relationship between the State and its population.¹² The main elements that define this relationship, in this view, are rights and privileges and duties and obligations. It is towards defining this relationship and consequently managing migration in Ghana that the 1992 Constitution makes provisions for the acquisition of citizenship in Ghana. There are the various categories. First by Article 6 (1) "Every person who, on the coming into force of this Constitution, is a citizen of Ghana shall continue to be a citizen of Ghana. Secondly, citizenship may be acquired through birth and descent in virtue of Article 6 (2) which provides that "a person born in or outside Ghana

after the coming into force of this Constitution, shall become a citizen of Ghana at the date of his birth if either of his parents or grandparents is or was a citizen of Ghana”. Thirdly, a foreign citizen who marries a citizen of Ghana may register for citizenship under Article 7 (1) of the Constitution and under Clause 4, a child of that marriage may also become a citizen.

By a 1996 amendment to the Constitution¹³, it is now permissible for a Ghanaian to hold the citizenship of another country. Thus, the laws of that other country permitting, a person who is a national of another country, may not be a foreign national in Ghana as long as she has not revoked her Ghanaian citizenship and has gone through all the procedures for acquiring or retaining dual citizenship.

Citizenship Act, 2000, (Act 591) and the Citizenship Regulations, 2001 (LI 1690)

The Citizenship Act seeks to consolidate the law on citizenship in Ghana and clarifies as well who a Ghanaian citizen is. The Act outlines the major means by which a person may become a citizen of Ghana other than by birth; that is citizenship by registration and naturalization. These are:

- i. A person who is married to a Ghanaian citizen may apply for registration as a Ghanaian. In the case of a man, he may apply only if he is a permanent resident in Ghana;
- ii. Anyone who was married to a person who but for his or her death would have continued to be a citizen of Ghana;
- iii. A child who is less than seven years found in Ghana and whose parents are not known is presumed to be a Ghanaian citizen;
- iv. A non-Ghanaian child of not more than 16 years adopted by a Ghanaian citizen; and
- v. A child of any person who acquires Ghanaian citizenship by registration or naturalization upon application of the parent or guardian.

Concerning naturalization, Ghanaian citizenship may be acquired upon fulfillment of the following conditions:

- i. The applicant being resident in Ghana for at least five years and having resided in Ghana throughout a period of 12 months preceding the date of application;
- ii. The applicant being of good character and having no criminal record anywhere for an offence recognized by the laws of Ghana;

- iii. The applicant having the ability to speak and understand an indigenous Ghanaian language and who can be assimilated into the Ghanaian society;
- iv. The applicant demonstrating the capacity to contribute to the country's development, intention to stay in Ghana permanently and possessing a valid resident permit at the time of application.

In effect, by these provisions of the Citizenship Act, foreign nationals or immigrants may acquire Ghanaian citizenship by registration or naturalization.

The Citizenship Act also allows Ghanaian emigrants to acquire the nationality of other countries without losing their Ghanaian citizenship. Under the Act, a citizen may hold the citizenship of any other country in addition to the citizenship of Ghana. This is in conformity with the constitutional provisions on citizenship.¹⁴ The Citizenship Regulations also provide that a citizen who holds the citizenship of any other country in addition to the citizenship of Ghana shall register as a dual national in Ghana.

While it is important under Ghanaian law, as in other national laws, to clarify who a Ghanaian citizen is for the purpose of attributing rights and privileges and duties and obligations, that law does not specifically deal with issues of migration. Similarly, the Immigration Act bears the hallmarks of historical antecedence which simply viewed migration as an issue of control and exclusion. As such, it does not provide an adequate legal framework for addressing the challenges of increased internal and international migration. In the review which follows, our attention will focus on the legal frameworks, namely the 1992 Constitution and the host of international obligations assumed by Ghana under treaties, conventions and protocols as well as the migration-related laws in existence in Ghana today.¹⁵

C. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana and International Norms Regarding Migrant Rights

In general, the protection of migrant rights in Ghana is achieved through the 1992 Constitution of Ghana with its entrenched Bill of Rights provisions in Chapter Five. These provisions guarantee the basic rights of all persons, and include the right to life, liberty and security, the right not to be held in slavery or servitude, the right not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, the right not to be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention, etc. These rights are provided without distinction of any

kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin. In direct relation to migration, the Constitution guarantees the right of Ghanaians to emigrate and the right of all persons to circulate freely within Ghana. Article 21(1)(g) reads as follows: “*All persons shall have the right to freedom of movement which means the right to move freely in Ghana, the right to leave and to enter Ghana and immunity from expulsion from Ghana*”. Any law that is not in accord with the Constitution is void to the extent of the inconsistency. These provisions are based on the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which declares in Article 13 that “everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State”. Similar protections are elaborated in the international obligations assumed by Ghana under treaties, conventions and protocols among which are: the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR);¹⁶ the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR);¹⁷ the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families;¹⁸ the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child;¹⁹ the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women;²⁰ the Convention Against Torture, and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;²¹ the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees²², the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees,²³ the 2000 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air and the 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children.²⁴ In addition, there is the host of ILO Conventions which aim to protect workers’ rights. Principally, there are the two Conventions, the 1949 Convention (No. 97 and Recommendation No. 86) concerning Migration for Employment and the 1975 Convention (No. 143 and Recommendation No. 151) concerning Migration in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers. Convention No. 97 calls for equal rights of migrant workers with nationals, whereas Convention No. 143 advocates for migrant workers equality of trade union and cultural rights. The significance of these two international instruments is that both are stated to be universal in application aimed as it were, to improve the situation of migrant workers anywhere in the world.

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, which builds on the ILO’s conventions, was ratified by Ghana on 7 September 2000. The Convention

is a comprehensive international instrument which is expressed to be in recognition of the growing vulnerability of migrant workers and their families in different parts of the world, the inability of existing legal instruments to adequately and strongly ensure the protection of the rights of migrant workers and their families and the urgent need to regulate the flow of migrant workers. In sum, the Convention reflects a growing awareness of the discriminatory treatment of many migrant workers, and the magnitude of problems caused by irregular migration.

Two essential features of the Convention as laid down in Part 1 of Article 1 are that the Convention applies to all migrant workers and their families “without distinction of any kind, such as sex, race, colour, language, religion or conviction, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, nationality, age, economic position, property, marital status, birth or other status”. The Convention also is made applicable “during the entire migration process of migrant workers and members of their families” which is defined to include the “preparation for migration, departure, transit, and the entire period of stay and remunerated activity in the State of employment as well as return to the State of origin or the State of habitual residence”. It is important to note too that the term “migrant worker” as used in the Convention applies to “a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national”, and all other possible categories of migrant workers, as provided for in Articles 2—6 of the Convention.

The Convention articulates the non-discriminatory provisions with respect to rights as are generally found in international human rights instruments by emphasizing the right of migrant workers “at any time to enter and remain in their State of origin”, the right to life, freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, freedom from slavery or servitude, the right to protection against forced or compulsory labour and coercion in any form, the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the right to hold opinions without interference, freedom of expression, freedom from unlawful interferences with privacy of family, freedom from deprivation of property, the right to liberty and security, the right to equality with nationals before the courts and other tribunals, the effective protection by the State, even when offences are committed, pending the fair determination of cases, in accordance with existing laws, the right to be treated with dignity, the right to consular and diplomatic protection, the right to retain cultural identity and to maintain links with

States of origin, freedom to participate fully in cultural life and to teach children in their mother tongue and culture, among others.

In addition, documented migrants enjoy other rights as set forth in the Convention. These include under Article 37 of the Convention, “the right to be fully informed by the State of origin or the State of employment...of all conditions applicable to their admission and particularly those concerning their stay and the remunerated activities in which they may engage as well as the requirements they must satisfy in the State of employment and the authority to which they must address themselves for any modification of those conditions”. Others are the right to liberty of movement in the host State, right to form trade unions and associations, the right to participate in public affairs in the State of origin, equality of treatment with nationals of employment opportunities, right to transfer earnings and savings, among others.

D. Acts of Parliament Incorporating International Norms Regarding Migration

1. Refugee Law, 1992 (PNDCL 305D)

Refugees have always been an important component of international migration and, as such, the

legal rules on refugees constitute an important element in the regulation of migration. In Ghana, the Refugee Law, 1992 (PNDCL 305D) provides for the status of refugees by incorporating into Ghanaian domestic law the three international instruments, namely, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees, and the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. In its entirety, the Law deals with issues such as the definition of a refugee, matters relating to the presence of refugees in Ghana, legally or illegally; the granting of refugee status; and the rights and duties of refugees as well as the detention and expulsion of refugees. The Law also establishes the Ghana Refugee Board with the task of managing all activities relating to refugees in the country. The Board is responsible for granting all the rights and protections enshrined in the 1951 UN Convention Pertaining to the Status of Refugees as well as the 1969 Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa to qualified persons. Notwithstanding these provisions, the Law allows Ghanaian authorities to detain or repatriate

TABLE 4.1 GHANA: STATUS OF MIGRATION-RELATED INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND PROTOCOLS AS AT 2011

Treaty Title with Date of Conclusion	Signature Date	Ratification Date
1. UN Convention relating to the status of refugees, 1951;	28/07/1951	Accession
2.. Protocol relating to the status of refugees, 1967;	31/01/1967	Accession
3. OAU (AU) Convention governing specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa, 1969	10/09/1969	19/06/1975
4. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966;	16/12/1966	07/09/2000
5. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966.	16/12/1966	07/09/2000
6. International Convention on the protection of the rights of migrant workers and members of their families (1990);	18/12/1990	07/09/2000
7. UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1990;	20/11/1989	02/09/1990
8. UN Convention against transnational organized crime, 2000;	15/11/2000	
9. UN Protocol against smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air, 2000;	15/11/2000	21/08/2012
10. UN Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking of persons, especially women and children, 2000;	15/11/2000	05/12/2005
11. UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984	10/12/84	07/09/2000
12. UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	18/12/79	02/01/86

Source: *Republic of Ghana Treaty Manual*

refugees if their presence in the country poses a threat to national security or public order. However, the Convention prohibits deportation of such persons to countries where they risk persecution or torture. Asylum seekers are required to make their applications to the Ghana Refugee Board within a period of 14 days but the Board can use its own discretion to extend this period. The Board works closely with the local office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to address issues pertaining to refugees and asylum seekers within Ghana.

As provided in the 1951 Convention the refugee is required to conform to the laws of the country he finds himself, as well as to measures taken for the maintenance of public order. On the other hand, Ghana, as a contracting state, must accord to the refugee at least the same treatment as is accorded to its nationals, with respect to freedom of religion and the religious education of his/her children, and at least the same treatment as is accorded to aliens generally regarding the acquisition of movable and immovable property, leases, and other contracts relating to property; the right to engage in agriculture, industry, handicrafts, and commerce on his/her own account and to establish commercial or industrial companies; the practice of liberal professions; housing; education other than elementary education; and the rights to choose the place of residence and to move freely within the territory. These are only some of the rights conferred on the refugee. At the level of obligations, the Convention and the 1967 Protocol impose a duty on Ghana, as a contracting State, not to expel refugees except to preserve national security or public order, and their expulsion must follow the due process of law. Even more importantly, a refugee is not to be expelled or returned (the principle of *non-refoulement*) in any manner whatsoever to a place of persecution.

With the 1969 OAU (now African Union) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, which Ghana ratified on 19 June 1975, there is expressed the concern of African States with “the constantly increasing numbers of refugees in Africa” and the desire of these States “of finding ways and means of alleviating their misery and suffering as well as providing them with a better life and future”. The Convention is significant in two essentials. Firstly, it allows for the group-based determination of refugee status. Secondly, it expands the definition of “refugee” by stating that “external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality” of a person are also a basis for refugee status.

The interpretation put on this expanded definition is that large groups of refugees fleeing mass human rights violations or generalized violence can be given protection on the strength of their nationality or membership of a particular ethnic group.

Despite the enactment of the Refugee Law incorporating these international instruments, gaps are disclosed in its implementation and enforcement. Significantly, the livelihoods of refugees in Ghana continue to be constrained by various obstacles which include cumbersome bureaucratic processes militating against their economic activities in the country. Thus, refugees in Ghana are required to obtain work permits from the host government for formal employment but, in practice, this is a cumbersome process which may take several months, discouraging local employers from hiring refugees.

Information from several sources about Liberian refugees in the Buduburam settlement in Ghana²⁵, adds to the evidence of challenges to refugee protection in Ghana. According to Omata: "The Ghanaian government does not recognize professional qualifications obtained in Liberia, such as for doctors, nurses and teachers... Therefore, these professionals have to retake their training again in Ghana in order to receive an official certificate from the Ghanaian authority, but this is not affordable for the majority of refugees. As a result of these restrictions, refugees have been virtually excluded from gainful formal employment in the country".²⁶

Of the various durable solutions which have been proposed to deal with the Liberian refugee problem in Ghana, one has been widely canvassed; that is, that of local integration. But this solution has not been pursued with keen interest by the Ghanaian Government. Two main reasons have been suggested; first, that the Ghanaian government sees that local integration is likely to impose an increased burden on the host government, and, second, that any attempt by the government to integrate refugees will generate strong resentment among the local population, especially if such a plan is to involve the commitment of resources from the host country²⁷. That, of course, does not suggest that the Liberian refugees are in favour of local integration as protests have been mounted against proposals by the UNHCR.²⁸

2. Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694)

From a global migration perspective, the 2000 United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and

Children (the Palermo Protocol), supplementing the 2000 United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, is of relevance as it seeks to combat irregular migration and protect the rights of irregular migrants by sanctioning smuggling and trafficking in persons. The Convention was ratified by Ghana on 5 December 2005

The Act prohibits human trafficking and other offences relating to human trafficking and provides as well for the arrest and prosecution of offenders. “Human trafficking” is defined as the “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, trading or receipt of persons within and across national borders by (a) the use of threats, force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, the abuse of power or exploitation of vulnerability, or (b) giving or receiving payments and benefits to achieve consent”. The Act also establishes a Human Trafficking Management Board to see to the implementation of the Act.

Despite the steps taken by the Ghana Government in ratifying the Convention and the establishment of the Board, serious gaps are also disclosed in the implementation of the Act. The United States 2016 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report which includes narratives for 188 countries and territories classifies Ghana as a Tier 2 Watch List Country, meaning, according to the Report, “that the Government does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking in persons and failed to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in the last year”²⁹. The Report further highlights the key factors in Ghana’s Tier 2 Watch List ranking to include “no demonstrable increase in prosecution efforts or assistance to victims; zero trafficking convictions in 2015’ a decrease in the number of victims identified in the past year, inadequate funding and training for law enforcement and prosecutors’ inadequate funding for victim protection and support services, insufficiently stringent penalties for trafficking; and reports of increase of corruption and bribery in the judicial system, which hindered anti-trafficking measures”.

3. The Children’s Act, 1998 (Act 560)

The special needs of children in migration, whether voluntary or involuntary, has increasingly attracted the attention of the international community and culminated in the adoption of international instruments, such as the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child which Ghana ratified on 2 September 1990 and the 1997 African Charter

on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which it also ratified on 15 July 2005. These Convention contain a wide array of rights which are found in existing international human rights instruments such as, right to life, right to identity, right to freedom of expression, right to freedom of thought, right to freedom of association and to freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom from arbitrary or unlawful attacks, right to education, etc. Article 22 of the UN Convention requires States Parties to “take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee in accordance with applicable international or domestic law and procedures shall, whether unaccompanied or accompanied by his or her parents or by any other person, receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of rights set forth in the present Convention and in other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the said States are Parties” and, under Article 35, “to take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form”, and by Article 36, “to protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child’s welfare”.

The Children’s Act aims, among other things, to reform and consolidate the laws relating to children and incorporates as well the range of rights and freedoms provided by the two international instruments. The Act deals with other matters, such as maintenance and adoption, child labour and apprenticeship, ancillary matters concerning children generally and related matters. At the institutional level, the Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs coordinates the activities of inter-agency groups working to combat human trafficking, especially children. It also monitors and evaluates the effects of migration activities on the welfare of women and children whether they are in migration or left behind.

Yet, despite the comprehensive provisions of the Act, implementation and enforcement of children’s rights in Ghana has its associated gaps which, according to several sources³⁰, include inadequate budgetary allocation for children issues such as education and health, the unfortunate circumstances of the child domestic worker and insufficient funding and equipment of District Assemblies to ensure the protection and welfare of children.

TABLE 4. 2. GHANA: STATUS OF ILO CONVENTIONS AS AT 2011

Treaty Title with Date of Conclusion	Signature Date	Ratification Date	Deposit Date
1. International Convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, 30/09/1921;		Succession	07/04/1958
2. International Convention for the suppression of the White slave traffic, 04/05/1949;		Succession	07/04/1958
3. Convention for the suppression of the traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others, 21/03/1950		Succession	24/09/2003
4. Final Protocol to the Convention for the suppression of the traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others, 21/03/1950;		Succession	24/09/2003
5. ILO Convention (No. 97 and Recommendation No. 86) concerning Migration for Employment, 1949;	Adopted 01/07/1949	25/01/1958	
6. ILO Convention (No. 143 and Recommendation No. 151) concerning Migration in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, 1975;	Adopted 24/06/1975	2000	
7. ILO Convention No. 29 concerning Abolition of Forced Labour; 1930	Adopted 28/06/1930	20/05/1957	
8. ILO Convention No.105 concerning Abolition of Forced Labour, 1957	Adopted 25/06/57	15/12/1958	
9. ILO Convention No.87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, 1948	Adopted 09/07/48 Adopted 01/07/49	02/06/65 02/07/59	
10. ILO Convention No. 98 concerning the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining , 1949	29/06/51	14/03/68	
11. ILO Convention No. 100 concerning Equal Remuneration, 1951	Adopted 17/06/99	13/06/2000	
12. ILO Convention No. 182 concerning Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999	Adopted 05/06/25	20/05/57	

Source: www.ilo.org

4. Labour Act, 2003, (Act 651) and Labour Regulations, 2007 (L.I. 1833)

The purpose of the Labour Act, which is the main legislation on labour in Ghana, is to bring the law in line with the 1992 Constitution and several conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which Ghana has ratified. [See TABLE 2 below]. Act 651 affects and covers all employees and all workers but excludes members of the Armed Forces, the Police Service, the Prison Service and the Security and Intelligence Agencies as specified in the Security and Intelligence Act of 1996 (Act 526). In so far as foreign immigrants may work in Ghana, the Act equally applies to them. Essentially, the Act provides for the establishment of public employment centres and their functions, the rights and duties of both employers and employees, the conditions of employment, remuneration, termination of employment, employment of persons with disability, employment of women. It also provides for trades unions and Employers' Organisations, labour inspection, the establishment of a National Labour Commission and its functions and for the settlement of industrial disputes.

E. Other Migration-Related Statutes and Regulations

1. Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act, 1994 (Act 478)

The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act, 1994, Act 478, establishes the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) as an agency of the Government of Ghana for the encouragement and promotion of investments. Act 478 has several provisions that deal directly and or indirectly with foreign investors. In direct relation to labour migration, the Act provides for immigrant quotas, the eligibility for foreign participation in certain business segments in Ghana and for personal remittances. The Act covers all investment activities except free zones, minerals and mining and petroleum.

2. Free Zone Act, 1995 (Act 504)

The Free Zone Act provides, among others, for the establishment of free zones and for the promotion and development of these zones. In relation to labour migration, work and resident permits are required for foreign nationals who wish to live in Ghana and work in a free zone.

3. Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (Act 703)

Essentially, this Act seeks to consolidate the law relating to minerals and mining. In respect of labour migration, the holder of a mineral right in Ghana may be granted immigration quota in respect of the approved number of expatriate personnel, as well as personnel remittance quota for expatriate free from tax imposed by an enactment regulating the transfer of money out of Ghana.

4. Foreign Exchange Act 2006 (Act 723)

This Act provides for the exchange of foreign currency, for international payment transactions and foreign exchange transfers. It also regulates foreign exchange businesses. The Act gives the Bank of Ghana responsibility for its implementation. It also authorizes the Bank of Ghana to issue licenses in relation to the carrying on of business in foreign exchange and the conditions relating to the conduct of foreign exchange business.

5. Representation of Peoples Amendment Act, 2006, (Act 669)

The Representation of Peoples Amendment Act (ROPAA) allows Ghanaian migrants residing abroad to participate in the democratic process through voting in the general elections. This law states, among other things, that: 'A person who is a citizen of Ghana but resident outside the republic is entitled to be registered as a voter if the person satisfies the requirements for registration prescribed by the law other than those relating to residence in a polling station'.

PART 2: POLICY FRAMEWORK

This Article reviews two existing policy frameworks in Ghana which appear to respond to the challenges arising from increased internal and international migration. But, in fact, what exist are stand-alone policies that indirectly relate to migration. Examples here also include the Ghana National Climate Change Policy, 2013, which acts as a guide to the management of climate

change and migration-related processes and consequences; the National Ageing Policy, 2010, which relates to the effective management of ageing issues in relation to migration and the National Urban Policy Framework, 2012, which provides a framework to facilitate and promote the sustainable development of Ghanaian urban centres.

1. The Revised 1994 Population Policy

The revised 1994 National Population Policy of Ghana³¹ has as one of its key objectives “to seek, among other things, to monitor international migration and to stem the ‘brain-drain’ of professionals and other skilled people leaving the country”. At the international level, the policy requires that, the Ghanaian Government creates incentive schemes to facilitate voluntary return of highly skilled Ghanaian migrants in order to ensure that their skills could be harnessed for national development. The policy also requires that laws and other procedural rules governing immigration and emigration should be periodically reviewed and updated to ensure that they are in consonance with contractual obligations under international agreements, and that migration flows do not adversely affect the nation’s manpower and other developmental needs. Exchange of experts and other skilled personnel to promote south-south cooperation within the framework of bilateral or multilateral agreements is to receive special attention. In addition, the Government of Ghana is to cooperate, negotiate and liaise with other governments and international agencies to ensure that the lives, properties and rights of Ghanaian nationals who travel to reside or work in other countries, whether temporary or permanently, are fully protected in accordance with laws, norms, conventions and international practice.

The Policy also identifies internal migration as a problem and seeks to address issues surrounding it for the country to derive maximum benefit from it. To this end, internal migration is linked to spatial distribution of population with the view to creating an attractive environment in rural areas to promote a more balanced or equitable development in order to avert urban-ward migration. The aim is to achieve even spatial distribution of population.

2. The 2010 National Youth Policy

The 2010 National Youth Policy³², among other things, seeks to empower the youth through the creation of a congenial environment which would equip them with knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and ethics. The Policy, as such, does not specifically deal with the migration of the youth either within or outside Ghana. What it does is to recognize the propensity of the youth for internal migration and emigration and the myriad of challenges facing them in their efforts to improve their own well-being and that of their households, communities and the nation at large. These challenges include relatively high unemployment and adverse effects of urbanization spurred by massive migration from rural areas.

CONCLUSION

From the above, the evidence shows that Ghana has enacted laws that incorporate its obligations assumed under migration-related international instruments. Despite this, gaps and weaknesses exist in the implementation and enforcement of these laws. It becomes also clear that despite the far-reaching impact of migration on several areas of national life, Ghana has no comprehensive legislation on migration and there appears as well limited coherence in existing migration related laws and policies. These gaps greatly affect Ghana's efforts toward effective migration management, more so as Ghana, a member of the African Union and ECOWAS, has subscribed to the principles, policies and action plans of these organizations on migration. The challenge is for Ghana to develop a comprehensive national policy on migration and also to reflect the principles and action plans of these two international organizations in its internal legal regime for the effective management of migration in the country. There is an urgency here as pointed out by the African Union in its Strategic Framework for a Migration Policy for Africa: "In the current scenario of an African Continent advocating for regional integration within the context of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (as a strategy that aims at promoting development of the continent), and the African Economic Community (AEC), in order to maximize the skills of African professionals and promote viable socio-economic development at national and regional levels, it is imperative that States adopt a proactive approach by replacing barriers towards migration with measures that effectively manage the movement of migrant labour between sovereign State borders.

Migration policies need to incorporate this new reality so that migration can bring positive outcomes for both receiving and sending countries”.³³

EPILOGUE

As part of Ghana’s attempt at managing migration effectively for development, an Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on Migration (IMSCM) was set up within the Ministry of Interior as a lead ministry, and charged with responsibility for the formulation of a national migration policy for Ghana. The Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, was contracted to facilitate the development of the new policy.

As at the time of writing, a new National Migration Policy (NMP) for Ghana said to represent “a bold attempt to provide a comprehensive framework to manage migration for Ghana’s sustainable development” has been launched officially. The NMP has been formulated against the backdrop of several pertinent policy frameworks, among them, the World Bank’s (2000) Report, *Ghana 2000 and Beyond: Setting the Stage for Accelerated Growth and Poverty Reduction*, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Also, the NMP is developed within the AU Strategic Framework for a Migration Policy for Africa³⁴, the 2008 ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration³⁵, the international obligations assumed by Ghana under various treaties, conventions and protocols as well as the 1992 Constitution of Ghana which, in Chapter five, entrenches the Bill of Rights provisions and which guarantees the right of Ghanaians to emigrate and the right of all persons to circulate freely within Ghana. The NMP outlines the key challenges and opportunities of migration for Ghana’s development and the legal and policy arrangements for the governance of migration as background context. It then outlines the key guiding principles, goals, objectives and strategies for achieving the objectives and the institutional arrangements for policy implementation. An action plan for implementation of the policy is also developed.

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The ECOWAS Treaty, which was adopted in 1975, provided in Article 27 that “Member States shall by agreements with each other, exempt Community citizens from holding visitors’ visas and residence permits and allow them to work and undertake commercial and industrial activities within their territories”. The Revised ECOWAS Treaty of 1997, in order to achieve the aims of the Community, also provides in Article 3 (1) for “the removal, between Member States, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment.” These provisions reflect the three-pronged approach to the migration policy of ECOWAS enshrined in the 1979 Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment.

To accomplish the objective of complete freedom of movement as envisaged by the ECOWAS Treaty, Member States of ECOWAS on 29 May 1979 adopted the Protocol Relating to the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment. Its Supplementary Protocols are the 1985 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/85 on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment, 1986 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/86 on the Second Phase (Right of Residence), the 1989 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/6/89 amending and complementing the provisions of Article 7 of the Protocol on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment, and the 1990 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90 on the implementation of the Third Phase (Right to Establishment). For a discussion, see Adepoju, A 2009. “Migration Management in West Africa within the Context of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Common Approach on Migration: Challenges and Prospects, in M. Tremolieres (ed.) *Regional Challenges of West African Migration: African and European Perspectives*, Paris, OECD.; Benneh, E Y. (2005) “The International Legal Regime and Migration Policies of Ghana, the ECOWAS, the Sub Region and Recipient Countries”. In Takyiwaa Manuh, *At home in the world? International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghana and West Africa*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers; Agyei, J and E. Clottey, “Operationalising ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People among the Member States: Issues of Convergence, Divergence and Prospects for Sub-Saharan Integration,” ECOWS trade lib 4.pdf .

The following Amendments to Act 160 were repealed: Aliens (Amendment) Act, 1965 (Act 265); Aliens (Amendment) Decree, 1974, (NRCD 259); and Aliens Act 1963 (Commencement) Instrument 1963 (L.I.247).

ECOWAS Member States are: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape-Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Cote d'Ivoire Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra-Leone and Togo. Mauritania, the 16th member, withdrew in 2002.

Article 1 of the Protocol A/P/3/5/82 Relating to the Definition of Community Citizen defines a Community Citizen, among others, as "a. Any person who is a national by descent of a Member State and is not a national of any non-Member State of the Community.....).

Section 8 (1) of the Act defines who a prohibited immigrant is. It provides: "A person other than a citizen of Ghana is a prohibited immigrantif that person (a) has a deportation order in force made against him under this Act or any other enactment; (b) is unable to show that he has the means of supporting himself and his dependents if any, or is destitute and likely to be a burden on the public; (c) refuses to submit to a medical examination after being required to do so by a health officer; (d) has been sentenced in a foreign country for any extraditable crime within the Extradition Act of Ghana; (e) has been certified by a health officer to be medically unfit to enter Ghana; (f) has been declared by the Minister by executive instrument to be a person whose entry into Ghana is not conducive to the public good; (g) procures or attempts to bring into Ghana any person for the purpose of prostitution or other immoral purpose; (h) is a person whose activities are contrary to the laws of Ghana; or (i) is the dependent of a person to whom any of the provisions of this subsection applies".

The qualifications for the grant of the indefinite residence status are set out in Section 15 of the Act and include an aggregate stay in Ghana for a period of not less than five years and seven years immediately preceding an application to the Director of Immigration.

See Section 16 of the Act which requires that foreign spouses should have stayed in Ghana for an aggregate period of not more than two years in the twelve months immediately preceding the application. In addition, there is no condition of proving any substantial contribution to the development of Ghana.

This provision was devised to deal with the case of Ghanaians who lose their citizenship on acquisition of the nationality of countries which do not allow dual citizenship, as the case of Austria.

Among the qualifications for the grant of the status of right of abode to a person of African descent in the Diaspora are that the person must be of the minimum age of 18, must be of good character, must have independent means, and the ability to contribute substantially to national development. Note also that the High Court, upon an application by the Attorney-General, may deprive a person of the status of right of abode where the activities of the holder are inimical to the security of the State or prejudicial to public order, morality or public interest. The deprivation may also occur where the right was illegally or fraudulently acquired or if the holder no longer qualifies under the law.

Bappah Habibu Yaya, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Challenges of Building a New Citizenship in West Africa, Paper presented at the 7th Global Conference, Inclusion and Citizenship, organized by interdisciplinary.net, Prague, Czech Republic, 12th March-14th March 2012, sourced at <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/yayappaper>.

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The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (the Palermo Protocol), supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 15 November 2000.

The settlement lies in a semi-urban area, approximately a one-hour drive from Accra, the capital. The area of the Buduburam settlement is approximately 140 acres. Over time, due to the continuous influxes of refugees from Liberia, refugees have spread beyond this offered settlement site and the Liberian refugee population co-exists with local villagers in these extended areas. It is estimated that as at 2011, there were approximately 11, 000 registered Liberian refugees in Ghana. See note 26, *infra*, p. 12.

Naohiko Omata, (2012) *Struggling to Find Solutions: Liberian Refugees in Ghana*, Research Paper No. 234, *New Issues in Refugee Research*, UNHCR.

See Agblorti, S. (2011) *Refugee Integration in Ghana: the Host Community's Perspective*, Working Paper No. 203, *New Issues in Refugee Research*, UNHCR. See Omata, *op. cit.* p. 7.

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The Strategic Framework for a Migration Policy for Africa, (2006), was adopted at the 7th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of African Heads of States and Governments in Banjul, The Gambia in July 2006. The Policy provides the necessary guidelines and principles to assist governments and their Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the formulation of their own national and regional migration policies as well as their implementation in accordance with their own priorities and resources. The policy is a comprehensive and integrated reference document and though non-binding in nature, scope and content, it provides a broad range of recommendations on various migration issues as a guide to governments and RECs.

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Chapter Five

ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE AND MIGRATION IN AFRICA

Joseph Kofi Teye

Introduction

While human mobility in response to changes in the environment has, for centuries, been part of life for many people, including nomadic herders and pastoralists (Black et al., 2011; Laczko and Aghazarm, 2009), it is only in the last 30 years that the relationship between environmental change and migration has engaged the attention of the global community (Foresight, 2011; Piguet, 2013; Afifi et al., 2014). Since 1990 when the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 1990:20) warned that “the greatest single impact of climate change could be on human migration”, a number of articles have been published on the relationship between the environment and migration (Carr, 2005; Afifi et al., 2014).

Most of the early publications suggest that environmental change is a major driver of population movements (Warner 2010; Black et al., 2011). Various terms, such as ‘environmental refugees’ and ‘environmental migrants’, have been used to refer to the many people who migrate as a result of unfavourable environmental processes and events (Bates, 2002; Foresight, 2011; Warner, 2010). Although most of the recent publications suggest that environmental change will result in increased migration in the near future (Foresight, 2011; Sward and Codjoe, 2012), estimates of the number of people who are likely to migrate in response to environmental change vary widely (Warner, 2010; Black et al., 2011). For instance, the Stern Review Report on Climate Change predicted that climate change could force about 150-200 million people to migrate in the coming decades (Stern, 2007: 77). However, a Christian Aid (2007) report estimated that about one billion people could be displaced by climate change by 2050.

Estimates on the number of people that will be displaced by environmental change have been heavily contested (Foresight, 2011; Black et al., 2011). Critics have argued that since migration is a multi-causal phenomenon, which is influenced by economic, political, social and environmental

factors, it is inappropriate to disaggregate 'environmental migrants' from other forms of migration (Boano et al., 2008; Foresight, 2011; Geddes, 2011). Although demographic changes and improved adaptive capacities can reduce the number of people who migrate in response to environmental change (Sward and Codjoe, 2012), most of the estimates on future environmental migrants fail to distinguish between 'vulnerable populations' and people who will actually migrate (Foresight, 2011). Most estimates of environmental migrants are wrongly based on crude calculations that assume widespread out-migration from areas that are experiencing adverse climate events (Laczko and Aghazar, 2009). It is in view of these criticisms that the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change described current estimates on 'environmental migrants' as 'guesswork' (Wilbanks et al., 2007: 365).

Despite the fact that estimates of environmental migrants are contested, there is enough evidence to suggest that migration is one of the strategies that people in developing countries adopt to deal with environmental hazards (Laczko and Aghazarm, 2009; Foresight, 2011). Although environmental changes will continue to have detrimental but also positive effects on various societies (IPCC, 2007), poor regions of Africa are expected to experience massive climate induced migrations (Foresight, 2011). This is due to the fact that most of the people in Africa depend on rain-fed agriculture, and extreme poverty limits their adaptive capacity to effectively withstand climate-related stress (Van der Geest, 2011). Yet, the nature and patterns of African migration in the context of environmental change are quite poorly understood. Against this background, this book chapter relies on secondary data to examine how environmental factors interact with economic and political factors to shape migration patterns in Africa. Given the commonly held belief that developing countries in Asia and Africa will bear the brunt of environmental change in the near future (Foresight, 2011), the discussions in this chapter will be of great importance to development.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The next section discusses theoretical perspectives on the relationship between environmental change and migration, while section 3 presents some empirical findings on environmentally induced migration in Africa. Section 4 presents the conclusions and policy options for dealing with environmental change in the context of migration in Africa.

Conceptualising the relationship between environmental change and migration

The relationship between the environment and migration is contested (Carr, 2005; Black, et al., 2008; Laczko and Aghazarm, 2009). The IOM (2007:1) defines ‘environmentally induced migrants’ as ‘persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad’. While some researchers have analysed environmental causes of population movements, in general (Suhrke, 1994; Warner, 2010), others have focused narrowly on *climate change* and migration (see IPCC, 2001; Stern, 2007; Black et al., 2011). According to Brown (2008), there are two distinct climate-related drivers of migration, namely climate processes and climate events. Climate processes are *slow-onset* changes to the environment (e.g. rising sea levels, salinization of agricultural land, and desertification) which may cause changes in migration patterns, while climate events are *sudden-onset* changes (e.g. flooding, hurricanes, cyclones, tsunamis, tornadoes and drought) which may cause sudden changes in migration patterns. While sudden onset climatic events tend to attract the attention of journalists, slow-onset climate processes actually have a much greater impact on the movement of people (Laczko and Aghazarm, 2009).

According to Shurke (1993), there are two perspectives on the relationship between the environment and migration. These are the *maximalists and the minimalists*. The *maximalist* perspective suggests that the environment directly forces people to migrate. This perspective views migration as a coping strategy against rapid-onset environmental hazards and as an adaption to slow-onset environmental processes (McLeman and Smit, 2006; Warner, 2010). This

perspective has been heavily critiqued for ignoring the role of economic and political factors in shaping migration decisions (Carr, 2005). The maximalists also wrongly assume that all migrations relate to environmental change in the same manner (Bates, 2002). In reality, the pace of environmental change tends to have a significant influence on the pattern of human mobility. In the case of sudden-onset environmental events (e.g. floods and storms), the causality of migration is relatively clear, as the people affected may have no option other than migrating to safer areas to save their lives.

In the case of slow-onset environmental processes (e.g. land degradation and desertification), the decision to migrate tends to be a voluntary one and is usually shaped by a combination of environmental, economic, and political factors (Carr, 2005). On the other hand, the *minimalist perspective* suggests the environment does not solely determine migration decisions, and that environmental factors usually interact with political and economic factors to shape migration decisions. The *minimalists* therefore argue that it is inappropriate to separate the political and the economic factors from the environmental causes of migration. This perspective also suggests that since environmental factors are not solely responsible for driving migration, it is inappropriate to quantify the numbers of *environmentally induced migrants* (McLeman and Smit, 2006).

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework used for the analysis in this chapter is largely based on the *minimalist* perspective, which is also consistent with the postulations of Renaud et al. (2010), Warner (2010), and the Foresight (2011). Following the Foresight (2011), it is assumed that the decision to migrate in Africa is influenced by five broad drivers, namely *political factors* (e.g. government subsidies, political conflicts), *demographic factors* (e.g. population density, population structure), *economic factors* (e.g. employment opportunities, income and wage), *social factors* (e.g. marriage and seeking education) and *environmental factors* (e.g. land productivity, habitability, food and water resources). Environmental change tends to influence migration outcomes through affecting existing demographic, economic, social, and political drivers of migration. The relationship between environmental change and population movement is complex, and mediated by a range of intervening factors (e.g. relative ease of transportation, government policies, availability of social networks) that can either hinder or facilitate migration (Black, et al., 2008; Sward and Codjoe, 2012). These assumptions resonate with the concept of *social-ecological systems*, which posits that human action and ecological structures depend on each other (Carr, 2005). Environmentally induced migration is part of complex human-environmental systems (Berkes et al., 2003; Young et al., 2008). While environmental changes can force people to migrate, they can also prevent some people from migrating. This is because migration is expensive and requires forms of capital, yet the people who experience the impact of environmental degradation may see a reduction in the very capital required to enable to move (Foresight, 2011).

Rapid- and slow-onset environmental events contribute to different migration patterns, ranging from permanent migration to temporary displacement (Renaud et al., 2010). As shown in fig 1, whenever rapid onset hazards (e.g. floods and earthquakes) occur, the people who are displaced are referred to as ‘environmental emergency migrants’. When the affected area has undergone satisfactory physical, economic and social recovery as a result of government or donor interventions, it is expected that these people will return to their origins. People who fail to return even when their origins have recovered are referred to as *environmentally motivated migrants*. In some cases, the displaced people may be willing to return to their origins, but are unable to do so because the affected areas have not recovered fully. Such people are *environmentally forced migrants*. As shown in figure 1, slow-onset events may affect livelihoods but are not likely to promptly *force* people to migrate. In cases, where environmental reasons are dominant during the time of migration decision-making because livelihoods have been affected significantly by slow-onset events, those who migrate are referred to as *environmentally motivated migrants* (Renaud et al., 2010). The conceptual framework which is used for the analysis therefore resonates with the minimalist perspective which assumes that the relationship between environmental change and migration is mediated by economic, social factors and political factors.

Empirical Evidence of Migration in Response to Environmental Change in Africa

Although it is quite difficult to separate the environmental drivers from other causes of migration, there is enough evidence to suggest that environmentally induced migration has occurred in a number of African countries. Both rapid- and slow-onset environmental processes have been partly responsible for migration in several parts of Africa. In this section, cases whereby population mobility has occurred in response to extreme environmental events are presented.

Rapid-Onset Environmental Events and Migration in Africa

The occurrence of population movement in response to rapid-onset environmental events is quite easy to identify due to the observable nature of these events. People must flee from rapid-onset environmental events to save their lives (Warner, 2010). In many parts of the world, floods and storms tend to trigger the bulk of rapid-onset international humanitarian responses. Out of the 26 UN Flash Appeals issued between 2006 and 2008,

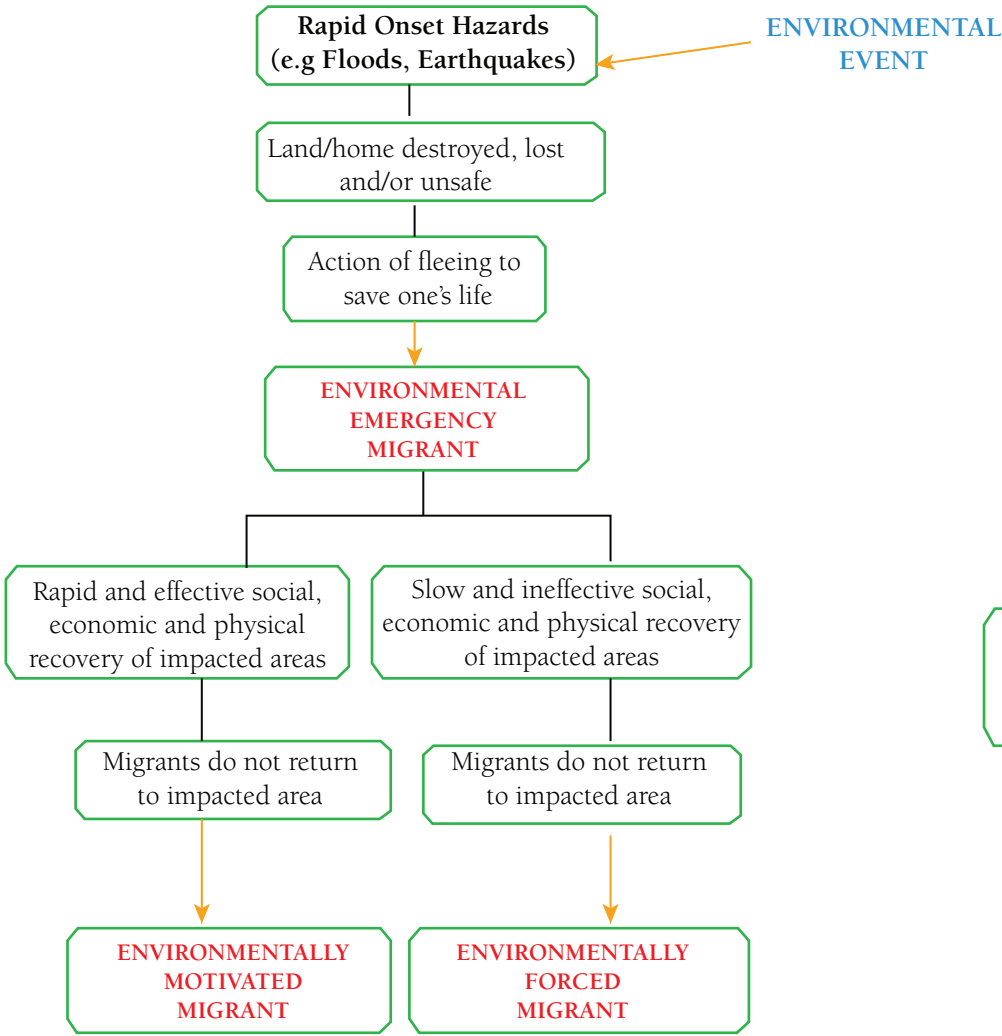
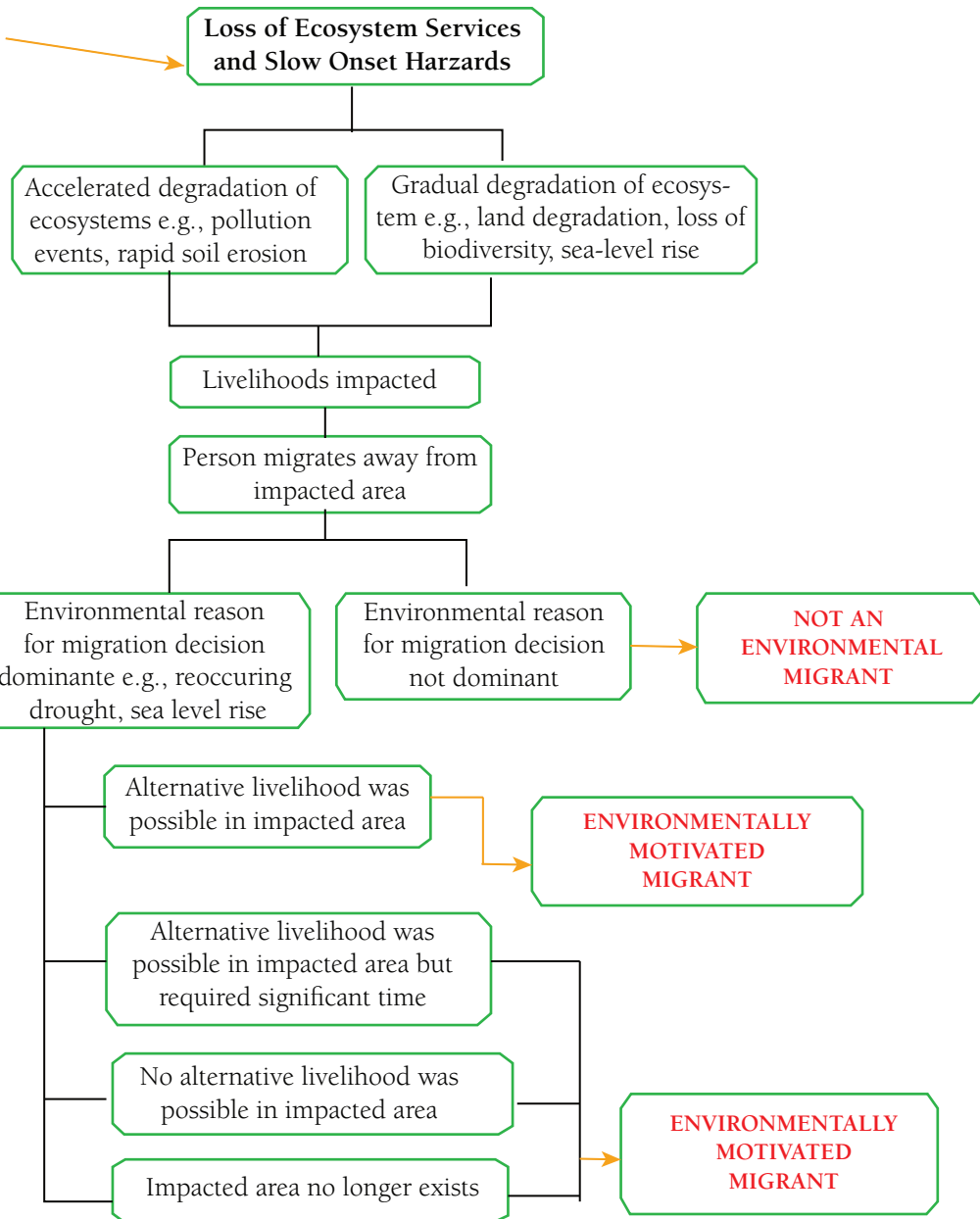


Figure 5. 1.: Environmental processes and migration
Source: Renaud et al., 2010



18 have been in response to floods and cyclones (Kirsch-Wood et al., 2008: 40). A recent United Nations-backed report shows that about 22 million people worldwide were displaced in 2013 by disasters caused mainly by earthquakes or climate- and weather-related events. The report noted that the risk of displacement as a result of extreme environmental events has more than doubled over the last four decades-largely due to concentration of urban populations in hazard-prone areas of developing countries. About 87.1 percent of the global total of people displaced by natural disasters was in Asia (UN News Centre, 17 September, 2013).

In Africa, earthquakes, cyclones, and floods are the rapid-onset events that have sparked population displacements. While Africa has not witnessed major earthquakes, some minor earthquakes have caused short-term population displacements, especially in Great Lakes Region. For instance, the 2008 Lake Kivu earthquake shook several countries in Africa's Great Lakes region. At least 25 people were killed and more than 200 were injured in Rwanda. This earthquake also sparked short-term population displacements, although most of the people returned to their origins within a few days (*BBC Online*, 2008-02-03). Most of the people affected by earthquakes in Africa could be said to be *environmental emergency migrants* who returned to their origins once the affected areas recovered physically and economically.

Cyclones have also caused some population mobility in a few African countries, such as Mozambique and Madagascar. Cyclones that occurred in 2007 in Mozambique reportedly caused the displacement of many people (Warner, 2010). The effects of floods on population movements have been more widespread in Africa. Floods are caused by several factors, such as sea level rise, heavy rains, and poor drainage systems. Warner (2010) documented how catastrophic flooding has been responsible for massive population movement in Mozambique. He reported that in 2001, 2007 and 2008 heavy rains caused flooding along the Zambezi River in central Mozambique. The floods of 2007 alone displaced more than 100,000 people. During repeated flooding, most of the people living in the flood plain lost their homes and livelihoods. As a way of dealing with this recurrent problem, the government of Mozambique encouraged resettlement away from dangerous flood plains by providing incentives for people to move to a safer area (Warner, 2010). The government paid for some construction materials and provided technical assistance for houses in the safer settlement. Many people took advantage of these incentives

and migrated to the new settlement. The people who migrated to safer areas years did not suffer the effects of flooding again, but the resettlement areas faced severe drought which resulted in crop failure. This situation clearly shows how environmental change and migration are mediated by socio-political factors. Most of the people were able to move from the flood plains only because the government provided financial and technical support for the migration. On the other hand, the resettlement programme did not actually build resilience to environmental change, as frequent crop failure due to drought exacerbates the vulnerability of people even in the resettlement area (Warner, 2010).

Floods periodically cause the displacement of several thousand people in Kenya. For instance, heavy flooding in Tana River District on 21st November 2007 resulted in the displacement of approximately 3,420 people (Red Cross Society, 2007). South Sudan also periodically experiences flood-related displacements. According to Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2014), heavy flooding in South Sudan's Unity State in November 2014 displaced 53,945 people in Payinjiar County. The low-lying area has experienced heavy flooding for many years, but the government has not been able to put in place concrete measures to enhance people's adaptive capacities to deal with the floods. In the year 2013, seasonal floods caused significant displacement in Chad and Niger. Similarly, in November, 2014, an estimated 21,000 people have been displaced by floods in Belet Weyne, in the Hiiraan region north of Mogadishu in Somalia (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2014). In Ghana, flooding caused by rainfall has periodically displaced poor people from vulnerable areas in northern Ghana, Volta region, and Greater Accra region. In April, 2013 severe rainstorms caused flooding and the destruction of property and farmlands in Agona East district in the Central region, affecting at least 1,000 people. Most of these people migrated temporary to safer areas (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2013).

As the people who are displaced by floods often return to their origins, it is difficult to link flooding to long-term migration in Africa. While the governments of Mozambique and Egypt provided resources for people to migrate permanently to settle in safer areas (Warner, 2010), in many African countries, only short-term material assistance is offered to victims of floods and other rapid-onset events. As long-term migration is often not considered by African governments, people tend to return to hazard prone areas.

Slow-onset Environmental Processes and Migration

It is quite challenging to evaluate the role of environmental factors in migration decisions of people affected by slow-onset processes (Warner, 2010). As slow-onset environmental change is gradual, migration is usually voluntary and partly influenced by economic, social and political factors (Hugo, 1996). Drought is one of the slow onset processes that affect many people in Africa. A third of Africa's population resides in drought prone areas and is vulnerable to the impacts of droughts (IPCC, 2001). Crops are already cultivated close to their thermal tolerance, and so any slight increase in temperature causes widespread crop failure and food insecurity (Collier et al., 2009). Apart from causing crop failure and food insecurity in dry regions, drought also causes the loss of livestock (Tarhule and Lamb, 2003). Although the impacts of drought on migration are myriad in nature, it is widely acknowledged that, in many parts of Africa, drought increases migration both as a short-term coping strategy and as a long-term adaptation response to the threats of recurrent drought. During periods of drought or extreme rainfall variability, poor farmers tend to undertake seasonal labour migration and movement towards urban centres or nearby rural areas to bolster livelihoods. In some cases, farming households in the Sahel region of Africa have responded to drought by sending one or more of their members to more resource-rich coastal areas, with the expectation that these migrants will send remittances back home to support consumption and development at their origins (Mensah-Bonsu, 2003).

Some specific cases of population movements in response to drought and rainfall variability in Africa have been documented (Teye and Owusu, 2015; Bawakyillenuo et al. 2014). Although the patterns of migration and transhumance of Fulani herdsmen from the Sahel to other ecological zones have existed for centuries, the phenomenon is increasing in recent times as a result of climate change (Tonah, 2000). The severe droughts of 1969-1974 resulted in significant population movement from the more arid zones bordering the Sahara to areas with more favourable climate. In one study, Mensah-Bonsu (2003) found that drought was the second most important factor responsible for rural out-migration in parts of northern Ghana. More recently, Bawakyillenuo et al. (2014) showed that migration is one of the strategies adopted by people in northern savannah to deal with climate variability. A study by Afifi et al. (2014) also showed that rainfall variability caused crop failure and out-migration in the Same-Kilimanjaro area of Tanzania. About 53 percent of households in the Same-Kilimanjaro area have members undertaking

seasonal migration during the dry season in those areas. Despite these findings, some researchers have argued that drought alone does not actually cause massive out-migration. Using longitudinal data, Findley (1994) found that the 1983-1985 droughts in Mali did not significantly increase the level of out-migration. Similarly, van der Geest (2011), in his study in northern Ghana, found that the droughts in the early 1980s did not lead to a significant increase in migration.

Desertification and land degradation are other slow-onset environmental processes that cause migration in Africa. Warner (2010) documented how desertification and soil degradation caused out-migration in the Eastern and Western Nile parts of Egypt. Land productivity in the area has diminished by about 25 percent, while the annual erosion rate has been between 0.8 and 5.3 ton/ha/year. Desertification and land degradation forced some people to migrate internally in search of livelihoods. As a way of combating desertification, the government of Egypt designed and implemented an internal migration scheme which was related to the Mobarak National Project in the Western and Eastern Delta. The new immigrants received shelter, pesticides, agricultural extension and veterinary services from the government and NGOs. However, the initial incentives to encourage poor people to migrate to new areas tapered off with time. As the Western and Eastern Delta lack access to potable water, public facilities and health care, many migrants did not stay and others went to other regions or returned to their original regions. Only half of designated resettlement land has been utilised. This case highlights how government policies can promote migration from places affected by environmental hazards.

Studies by van der Geest (2011) showed that land degradation was a key factor in the migration of Dagara farmers from northern Ghana to the Brong Ahafo region. Another study by van der Geest et al. (2010) showed that vegetation change play an important role in causing migration from northern Ghana to Ghana's middle belt. The researchers found a strong correlation between net migration and vegetation change, even after accounting for rainfall trends. While people migrated from regions facing vegetation loss, out-migration was found to have a positive effect on vegetation cover by reducing pressure on natural resources at the origin. Sea level rise is another slow-onset process that has contributed to population movements in some coastal communities in Africa. In Egypt, for instance, sea-level rise has caused the out-migration of people from the Nile Delta and Nile Valley which are among the most productive zones in Egypt (Dasgupta et al., 2007).

Nature and Patterns of Environmentally Induced Migration in Africa

The cases cited above show that migration is a coping strategy for rapid-onset events and a long-term adaptative strategy for slow events in Africa. Citing case studies in Senegal and Tanzania, Tacoli demonstrated how migration has become a key livelihood strategy in the face of environmental hazards such as drought, and soil degradation (Tacoli, 2011). The African situation supports the view that migration is a proactive risk diversification strategy for households facing environmental stressors (Berkes et al., 2003).

Available evidence, however, suggests that faced with the same environmental stress, some people migrate while others remain. In most cases, the vulnerable poor and elderly people may be left behind initially, and forced to resettle later. In some cases, people who do not migrate away from environmental change tend to be active agents with resilient characteristics (Zetter, 2008). However, there are circumstances where people are forced to remain behind or are unable to migrate because they lack education, social networks or financial resources to move. The several people who are unable to move from locations in which they are extremely vulnerable to environmental change are referred to as 'trapped' migrants. Planned and well-managed migration can be one important solution for this population of concern (Carr 2005; Foresight, 2011).

Recent scholarship has shown that temporal rather than permanent migration is the most common outcome of environmentally induced migration (Henry, et al., 2004). In some African communities, men tend to move seasonally leaving women and children behind. Remittances are sent back to the women to take care of the children. Findley (1994) reported that the 1983-85 drought in rural Mali led to a reduction in permanent migration, and an increase in circulation. This is explained by the fact that migration is expensive and requires forms of capital, yet populations who experience the impact of environmental change may see a reduction in the very capital required to enable them to move to other places.

Most environmental migrants tend to travel for short distances within the same country rather than long distance. Studies in Burkina Faso (Henry, et al., 2004) and Mali (Findley, et al., 1994) have revealed that overseas migration in both countries declined during drought years in the 1980s. In cases where environmental migrants relocate to other countries, they usually move across the nearest border. This is due to the fact that long distance

international migration requires financial resources and social networks, but most vulnerable populations do not have these resources to embark on international migration (Laczko and Aghazarm, 2009). Environmentally induced migration in Africa is not limited to rural-to-urban migration, as there were instances whereby people have moved from rural to rural areas (Sward and Codjoe, 2012).

Effects of Migration on Environment at Migrants Destinations in Africa

While most researchers tend to examine how environmental change causes migration, migration can exacerbate environmental problems in receiving areas. According to Foresight (2011), many rural-urban migrants tend to settle in slums where they establish social networks necessary to find employment. As a result of poor planning of slums and lack of drainage and protective infrastructure, migrants living in slums are often at-risk from environmental change impacts, including the increased frequency of floods and storms. About 40% of rural-urban migrants arriving in Dakar, Senegal in the past decade have moved to zones with high flood potential. Similarly, immigrant population in Mombasa, Kenya suffer disproportionate impacts from flooding and winds (Foresight, 2011). In a recent study in Ghana, Awumbila et al (2014), demonstrated how the economic activities of rural-urban immigrants in two slums in Accra are causing environmental degradation in their living environments. The situation is the same for rural-urban immigrants in informal settlements in Cairo, Lagos and other African cities which are located in areas prone to sea level rise and which lack drainage infrastructure (Satterthwaite, 2011). These cases suggest that many people may be migrating into urban contexts characterised by a high degree of vulnerability to environmental change (Foresight, 2011).

Rural-rural migrants also cause environmental degradation at the destination. For instance, as a result of climate variability and scarcity of farming land in parts of Ghana, many farmers have recently migrated from the northern and Volta regions to the forest zone of Ghana. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this influx of farmers from the northern savannah zone and Volta region is partly contributing to deforestation and soil degradation in the forest zone of Ghana.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The findings in this chapter show that while it is difficult to separate environmental drivers from politico-economic causes of population mobility (Carr, 2005; Foresight, 2010), migration is an important coping strategy for rapid-onset environmental events and a long-term adaptive strategy for slow-onset environmental processes in Africa. Consistent with the framework of Renaud et al (2010), various categories of migrants have been produced by various types of environmental events/processes. Flooding and earthquakes have mainly produced *environmental emergency migrants*, but most of these people have returned to their places of origin. Only a few of the people displaced by serious floods in some countries (e.g. Egypt, Mozambique, Chad, Kenyan) could be categorised as long-term *environmentally forced migrants*. On the other hand, migration induced by slow-onset events is usually voluntary and strongly influenced by economic, social and political factors. Drought and other slow-onset environmental processes have produced environmentally *motivated migrants*, especially in the dry regions of Africa. While most people migrate to deal with environmental problems, some people also migrate to areas of environmental vulnerability. Rural-urban migrants tend to live in high-density settlements in areas prone to environmental risks, and may not have the social or financial capital to protect themselves from these risks (Foresight, 2011).

A major finding that emerged from the cases presented is that faced with similar situation of slow-onset environmental processes, some people migrate while others stay behind. In some cases, those who do not migrate away from environmental change tend to be active agents with resilient characteristics (Zetter, 2008). However, there are circumstances where people are forced to remain behind or are unable to migrate because they lack financial and social capital to move. Well-managed migration can be one important solution for this population of concern (Carr 2005; Foresight, 2011). The findings presented in this paper resonate with the *minimalist* perspective which assumes that the relationship between environmental change and migration is mediated by several social, economic and political factors.

While planned migration may be the best option for dealing with environmental hazards in some communities, the negative portrayal of migration has led to the formulation of programmes that only seek to reduce migration flows (World Bank, 2010). Apart from a few cases in Egypt

and Mozambique, most African governments do not view migration as an effective adaptation strategy, and very few National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs) consider planned population mobility as a viable option to deal with environmental change. Some governments even characterise migration as a failure of adaptation, rather than as a form of adaptation (Sward and Cudjoe, 2012). Policy makers in Africa must, therefore, be made aware of the fact that preventing certain vulnerable populations from migrating will rather lead to increased impoverishment and displacement. Migration must be seen as an effective coping/adaptation strategy which can be employed to relieve pressure on environmentally degraded areas in Africa and thereby provide opportunities for enhancing the livelihoods of poor people (Foresight, 2011). Rather than discouraging people from moving out of environmentally degraded areas, policy makers in Africa must formulate policies to ensure that migration occurs in a way that maximises benefits to vulnerable households, sending areas and destinations.

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PART TWO

MIGRATION, RETURN AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN GHANA: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Chapter Six

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN GHANA

Akosua K. Darkwah and Delali Margaret Badasu

Introduction

To a very large extent, non-economic factors, mostly social in nature, have been associated with migration and its consequences in temporal and spatial contexts. Whether as determinants of migration and also in combination with economic and other variables, social factors contribute to movement (as an event and a process) of individuals and groups across and within national boundaries. The effect of migration in transforming social structures and their functions as well as modifying the identity of migrants and other aspects of their culture in destination societies (Fellman et al., 1997; Portes, 2008; Mensah and Williams, 2015) cannot be disputed.

The legacies of European migration to African countries, including Ghana, centuries ago and in contemporary times can be discerned from the cultural landscape of various societies in the region. The use of the languages of former colonial masters- English, French and Portuguese- as official language and adoption of their political and educational systems are undisputable evidence of the transformations that have followed Africa's contact with the West. So also are the transformations of some aspects of the social organization and practices of traditional African societies since contact with Europeans and other forces of change (Ayee, 2013; Badasu, 2013; Ejisu, 2013).

The processes and resulting legacies of colonization have also facilitated contemporary migration from the former colonies to the countries of the former powers. The main factors associated with such movements include colonial legacies: language, religion, some aspects of culture and educational systems that make adjustment and integration easier for migrants in the home country of former colonial powers.

The situation in Africa and other former European colonies is not unique. Transformations are taking place in many other contemporary societies as a result of the expansion of international migration that is facilitated by

several factors that have emerged in present times. International migration has become an “integral component of the globalization processes” (Bommes and Morawska, 2005:1), that are shaping contemporary societal processes. Bommes and Morawska (2005: 1) have also noted that:

The enormous expansion of international population flows since the 1980s has been a constitutive component of accelerated globalization processes connecting different regions of the world through trade and labour exchange, international laws and organizations, and rapidly advancing transportation and communication technologies.

A combination of previous contacts and those resulting from contemporary processes as noted above account for contemporary African migration too (Adepoju, 2010). Moreover, African migrants, including those from Ghana, through transnational lifestyles engage in the economic, social and political spaces at both origin and destination areas and thereby leave traces of some foreign culture acquired from destination areas in their home countries as they visit or keep ties with them through other means of communication.

However, effects of migrants on the societies at destination areas have received more attention from researchers than the impacts of migration on origin societies. Several reasons account for this, including the erroneous conception of migration as characterized by a dichotomous space (origin and destination) instead of a cycle that often in the case of Africa involves a final stage in which migrants return to their origin and reintegrate into their society or at least keep ties with their origin in different way such as visiting.

This chapter examines the effects of migration on the performance of funeral rites as well as the chieftaincy institution in Ghana. The focus is mainly on international migration even though impacts resulting from internal migration are implied in some aspects of the social change examined. A section on conceptual considerations precedes the discussion on the transformations. The chapter ends with a concluding section.

Conceptual Considerations

Changes that occur in any society can be discernible or otherwise depending on what structures or institutions are affected. The extent to which the changes occur also determines how important they may be or if seen at all. Generally, the recognition of the effect of migrants on society is not debatable but it has been usually perceived more or less as a phenomenon at destination areas than at the origin of migrants. This is explained largely

by the way migration itself is conceived as taking place in two dichotomous geographical entities, as noted in the previous section. The introduction of the concept of transnational migration has changed that perspective.

Transnational Migration

The notion that international migrants live in one geographical space or their destination has given way to one that acknowledges that they have ties with their place of origin and elsewhere and are thus transnational migrants. It dates back to the beginning of the 20th Century but has been elevated over the past two decades. In her work titled “Transnational Migrants: When “Home” Means More Than One Country”, Levitt (2004: 1) argues that:

The assumption that people will live their lives in one place, according to one set of national and cultural norms, in countries with impermeable national borders, no longer holds. Rather, in the 21st century, more and more people will belong to two or more societies at the same time.

With a similar perspective, Schiller et al. (1995:1) note that “immigrants cannot be characterized as the ‘uprooted’; they maintain linkages with their home country even when they are rooted in their destination country.” They further explain that some structural changes in the global labour economy and social and economic deterioration in both labour sending and labour receiving countries make both insecure and, among other forces, are responsible for the transnational lifestyle adopted by migrants.

Transnational migration is facilitated by a number of factors. The major ones are advances in transport and telecommunication technologies. With the increase in road, air and sea transport opportunities across international and continental boundaries, international migration has not only been made easier but also characterized by movements to and from destination areas to place of origin for several reasons - holidays, visits, participation in social and political activities, among others. By such movements/visits, migrants are able to keep ties with their families, friends and others at their origin. Such visits by migrants while still based in the host country are known as return visits (Asiedu, 2005). They are characterised by social and other forms of engagement that may have an effect on the origin society.

Migration as a field of study examines social factors that are associated with the effects of migration at the destination of migrants with respect to acculturation – the adoption of cultural traits at destination areas while

keeping those from the origin. The effect of migrants' social life on host community such as impacts of ethnic communities (Portes, 2008) received more attention from researchers than the effects that migrants have on their origin community. Indeed, the conceptualization of origin and destination of migrants as dichotomous entities did not permit the examination of the effects that migrants may have on their societies of origin.

Now conceived as a cycle that begins with the movement, followed by acculturation or integration (to different degrees) at the destination and visits as well as return and eventual reintegration, migration analysis is done more rigorously with respect to the processes and the effects that they may have on the migrant and the geographical, economic, social and political spaces in which they live or engage at their origin too. Employing this framework, enables the examination of the role of ethnic, hometown, old students' associations; friends; church and other networks among Ghanaian emigrants, for example, through which they express their loyalties to their country or keep ties with their networks (Mazzucato, 2011). Transnational migration through these networks therefore takes place within various spheres - economic, social, political, religious affiliations, among others.

The social processes of migration and its impacts may take various forms in different social settings. In Ghana, for instance migrants have influenced various social institutions either directly and indirectly. Researchers at mostly destination countries have investigated the interrelationships between migration and social change. Acculturation and assimilation are concepts that denote the relationship between migration and changes in culture or lifestyle that may result at individual and societal levels. The presence of ethnic communities in host societies of migrants indicates the existence of sites for the preservation of foreign culture among migrants and also suggests, among other things, that there is opportunity for the migrant community to be influenced by the dominant culture.

Some traits of culture from the dominant culture should be expected to be carried back to the country of origin of migrants through revisits by migrants and when they finally return. Indeed, culture is dynamic so elements constituting it must also be expected to be subject to change.

Social Change

Social change is basically, the transformations of the social phenomena, the structures and compositions in a society. But as a concept, social change was debated by scholastic thinkers in a number of disciplines in the humanities

dating back to the Medieval times when it was argued that the society which already existed was the only possible society. Medieval thinkers debated the extent to which society was unchanging. The two camps came to be known as the free will and determinism perspectives. Those of the determinism school envisioned that the terrestrial social order was “a reflection of the immutable heavens” and for that reason, “everyone was born with a defined place and calling” (Portes, 2008: 2). Such theological and philosophical social thought suggests that “destiny” rather than actions and aspirations shape people’s life. The thinkers of the Enlightenment necessarily had to change this order of thinking. As indicated by Portes (2008: 3):

It was necessary for thinkers of the Enlightenment to toss off the one-to-one correspondence between celestial and earthly societies—a major intellectual achievement at the time – in order to begin to contemplate the possibility that other ways of organizing life-in-common could exist.

According to Portes (2008), the French Revolution shifted Western social thought- from stasis to change. The discipline of Sociology which he refers to as “a child of the Enlightenment” traced the process by which the European societies shifted. Among the classifications of the various stages identified by the founders of Sociology, those by Comte (Theological and Philosophical to Scientific) and Simmel/Spencer (traditional to modernity) have relevance for the subject under examination.

Ghanaian traditional societies are experiencing a move away from traditional practices and behaviours. There is evidence that the nature of contemporary societies reflects in several ways a transformation that results in a move away from traditional beliefs and practices though some have persisted. But, as Portes (2008) noted referring to destination areas, opposition to change may result in resistance to change. Therefore, the power of migration to effect change at destination areas depends on three things which he identified as follows: 1) the numbers involved, 2) the duration of the movement and 3) the class composition. Regarding the duration, circular movements may not yield changes in social structure at the origin but rather reinforce it. According to Portes (2008), the temporary movements to Western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s did not have any dent in the existing social structures until the migrants became permanent residents. The relevance of composition is the manner in which a mixture of

low middle and high human capital migrants can form enclaves as the high capital category set up businesses and employ the low capital migrants.

Portes' (2008) three elements of migration that can effect change at the destination areas have relevance for explaining the effects of migrants' interaction with the origin society too, the subject of this chapter. Regarding the numbers, anecdotal information indicates that roughly 3 million Ghanaians live in the diaspora even though official sources such as the censuses give lower estimates. Households are noted as failing to answer questions on emigrants for fear of disclosing information about them. The Ghanaian emigrant population lives transnational lifestyles, keeping ties with the origin. Through long term visits and eventual return they are able to bring some influence from destination areas to their home country.

Concerning composition, both skilled and unskilled labour migration characterize international movements from Ghana. The flows of emigrants from Ghana have been diverse over the past three or four decades. Diversification of destinations has also been taking place. The transnational Ghanaian migrants revisiting and/or returning to Ghana may constitute a mixture: those who have high economic capital and easily adapt to the destination culture and those with low human capital who may not adapt to the culture at the destination to the same degree as well as other variants. All or some of the different categories should be expected to influence the traditional culture, its norms and values as well as the structural and institutional characteristics of Ghanaian society. They can do so mainly with their remittances (monetary and social), investments, among other resources that they send or bring along.

The resultant changes in Ghanaian culture may result from the innovative ideas brought by the emigrants. As explained by Fellmann et al. (1997: 54), innovation implies changes to a culture and the novelty may involve the development of nonmaterial forms of social structure and interaction. We argue that the transformations in the performance of funeral rites and the chieftaincy institution in Ghana are, to a very large extent, traceable to migration.

Transformations In Funerals

It is undeniable that funeral rites are the most important of all the rites of passage in the life of Ghanaians; it is the most elaborate and expensive of all the rites of passage organised in the country (Van der Geest, 2000). The importance of funerals in Ghanaian society is perhaps best reflected in the

Akan proverb, Abusua do funu (Families love corpses). An Ewe folk song goes:

Esi mele dɔlem nuka du ge mele
Esi meku la wotsɔ nunana wo ve nam
Miade dukɔ la amekuku wolɔna
Miwo nɔvi, nɔvi la agbe me

Translated:

When I am sick, I have nothing to eat
 When I'm dead, gifts are brought to me [my family]
 My people love the dead
 Show love to the living

Indeed Van der Geest argues that funerals are less about the deceased and more about the living relatives. As he puts it:

The deceased and his or her dead body, though apparently at the centre of the funeral, are primarily symbols, ritual objects that the family needs to perform a ceremony for itself...funerals provide occasions for the living to demonstrate their social, political, and economic excellence. (Van der Geest, 2000: 107).

The opportunity for exhibiting wealth which is embedded in the very notion of a traditional Ghanaian funeral is evident in the general characterisation of funerals as grand. The traditional notion of what constitutes a grand funeral has been magnified greatly with the migration of Ghanaians from rural communities to urban areas as well as foreign lands. A grand funeral, as defined by Nketia (1954: 48) and referenced by both Arhin (1994) and Van der Geest (2000) is characterised by a large crowd. With migration, the idea of a large crowd has been elevated beyond mere numbers to the characteristics of the attendees involved. The presence of migrant members of a family at a funeral elevates the social prestige of the relatives of the deceased. A funeral that is well attended is defined by the presence of important personalities, especially those who have travelled from far off to attend the funeral. Here, both urban and international migrants are equally important. There are two major ways in which the respect accorded urban and international migrants is made evident at funerals. First, on Saturday afternoons which is usually the time reserved for the funeral rites, visitors are seated in groups and at the appointed time, they are invited up to greet the relatives of the deceased and present their token monetary gifts. Prior to their arrival, they are announced with much hype and care is taken to

highlight the geographic location from which each group came. In rural areas, in particular, a family that is able to draw a crowd of people from the urban parts of the country improves its social prestige considerably. Secondly, particularly for the elite, obituaries routinely listed towards the back of major newspapers in the country, particularly the *Daily Graphic* (Ghana's most read daily newspaper) as well as on major television stations routinely in the evenings provide an opportunity to document a family's links with international migrants. It has become routine not simply to list the names of children of the deceased individual, but also to include the geographical location of these individuals and their titles. Here, the geographic location of particularly the children of the deceased such as London and New York hints at the presence of international migrants at a funeral. If none of the biological children of the deceased lives abroad, De Witte (2003) notes that distant relatives may be converted into biological children for purposes of prestige.

In addition to helping to redefine the definition of a grand funeral, migrants have contributed immensely to the commercialisation of Ghanaian funerals. Traditionally, fasting was a key characteristic of Ghanaian funerals (Arhin, 1994). Individuals who attended a funeral returned to their homes for their meals. However, once family members started to migrate and returned home for funerals accompanied by friends and well-wishers from the urban areas (church members, co-workers, neighbours, among others), feasting, rather than fasting, has now become an expectation at funerals. The migrants have to be fed and refreshed; depending on the social status of the numbers involved, a catering service might be hired to prepare the food for such migrants. The catering establishment assigned to provide this task is largely dependent on the resources available to the family members. The wealthier the family, the more expensive the food available at funerals. When some of the members of the extended family live abroad, there is an expectation that the food available at the funeral would be of a higher standard which by extension means more expensive than otherwise. In one estimate, twenty three percent of costs associated with a funeral were linked to costs associated with hospitality (Mazzucato et al., 2006: 1055, 1056). The migrants belonging to the family, those living abroad in particular, are expected to finance all or the largest proportion of the cost for the hospitality. Some bereaved families, especially those who depend on remittances to finance the funeral, give gifts such as handkerchiefs and tin openers to those who join them to mourn, in addition to the hospitality. Having a migrant

relative therefore provides the opportunity for the bereaved family to decide on how to organize the funeral and the expenses that can be made.

The desire to make it possible for family members living abroad to feel a part of funeral ceremonies in Ghana has also resulted in a boom in the commercial video recordings industry (De Witte, 2003). Companies are now hired to document the multiple-day events which may sometimes even include the journey made by the hearse from the morgue to the funeral site, with brass band music or singing by a choir or a troupe. While video recordings cater to the needs of family members living abroad who cannot afford to come home for the funeral, the needs of family members abroad who can make the trip are taken into consideration in determining the date for the funeral.

The increasing power of international migrants to determine exactly when funerals are held is a third way in which migrants are reshaping the organisation of funerals in contemporary Ghana. Depending on the individual's circumstances regarding their work schedule and their finances, the funeral may have to be pushed months away. The body then has to be preserved in a mortuary for as long as it takes to assemble various family members. Huge mortuary costs have now become part of most funerals, a situation completely unheard of in the past (Arhin, 1994). Relatives are not the only people who may have to rearrange their plans regarding the timing of the funeral to suit the needs of migrants. In some cases, entire communities may have to violate the bans on funerals so as to make it possible for migrants to participate in the funeral ceremonies of a relative (Mazzucato et al., 2006). Families and communities are willing to make these re-arrangements primarily because a large chunk of the funeral expenses is usually borne by the family members who live abroad. In one study, seventy percent of the costs associated with one funeral were borne by relatives who were international migrants (Mazzucato et al., 2006: 1058). In a larger study of 29 migrants, almost ten percent of all remittances sent over a one year period were sent to cover funeral related costs (Mazzucato et al., 2006: 1059). While the amounts invested in funerals might be more than a month's wages, international migrants invest in funerals as a way of 're-establishing and legitimising' their positions within their extended families (Mazzucato et al., 2006: 1065).

A fourth way in which migrants feature prominently in contemporary funerals is the fact that the traditional practice of informing members of the family living in the village of origin of the deceased first before anybody

else is no longer the practice. As Mazzucato et al. (2006) note, increasingly migrants living abroad would be informed first with the expectation that they would raise the needed finances to begin to cover the costs associated with pre-burial arrangements. Indeed the speed at which the news go has been facilitated by social media.

Finally, as Mazzucato et al. (2006) note, funerals have increasingly become a multi-sited event, taking place in both Ghana and at least one other international site. Two reasons account for this. First is the fact that family members abroad may be unable to raise the capital needed to finance a trip home to participate in the funeral rites of their bereaved relative. A ceremony abroad often with the digital video disc (DVD) of the funeral ceremony in Ghana playing in the background makes it possible for those family members unable to return home to mourn their relative in a ritualised manner. A second situation that might call for a multi-sited funeral is where the deceased is him/herself a migrant whose financial circumstances make it impossible to send the body back to Ghana for a burial. In these circumstances, friends and family abroad would organise a funeral abroad while the rest of the extended family does the same in Ghana. Bereaved families are also able to organize funeral service at the deceased's place of residence while the body is taken to the hometown to be buried. The funeral rites that follow are performed at one of the sites or both concurrently or at separate time. Among Christians, the thanksgiving service that follows a day after the burial may be held at a different site.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN CHIEFTAINCY

Chieftaincy has been one of the most enduring social institutions in Ghana. Like any other political leadership in traditional Ghanaian society, chieftaincy is derived from the organization of kinship systems that are a set of social relations consisting of a complex set of norms, patterns of behaviour, including kinship ties, rights, obligations, among others (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1990; Nukunya, 1992; Shanklin, 2007). Kinship systems are built on descent which is the transmission of kin group membership. Two types of descent exist in Ghana: 1) patrilineal which is through the father or male line with males holding positions and authority to rule and 2) matrilineal, through female line but with male-held positions such as that of a chief and family head and inheritance (property) are passed from a man to the sister's son (Nukunya, 1992).

In traditional societies, kinship and descent are basis for performance of social functions such as leadership and they are also important for identification of leaders. The position of a chief is inherited (ascribed) through membership of a kin group; it is not achieved. As such, becoming a chief is not through competition and the position is not a career and it is not supposed to be used for personal gain. Rather, the chief is expected to have a blood link to the throne and to seek the wellbeing of his subjects (Ejisu, 2007; Gyampo, 2007; Ayee, 2013).

As seen in the section above, migrants have had a major influence on the ways in which funerals are organised in the country. Similarly, migration has had interesting influences on the contemporary criterion for the selection of chiefs. Arhin (1985) argues that the selection of chiefs is based on a combination of one's ascribed and achieved status. Chiefs have to come from royal families, but chiefs also have to demonstrate excellence in one shape or form before they are selected as chiefs. Among the group of eligible/potential chiefs, he who is selected is usually the one who has shown himself worthy of the title through his achievements, mostly in terms of professional accomplishments. Increasingly, thanks to migration, the importance of ascription as a selection criterion is losing sway. We will draw on three different examples to demonstrate this point.

First is the concept of a Nkosuohene or Nkosuohemaa. In 1985, inspired by the numerous Ghanaian international migrants who had either acquired money in their own right or developed relationships with potential wealthy benefactors, the then Asantehene, Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, announced the creation of a new title, Nkosuohene or Nkosuohemaa (Schildkrout, 2006). Loosely translated as a development/progress chief, this was a title reserved for individuals who had contributed significantly to the development of a kingdom through philanthropic efforts. Such individuals did not need to come from the royal family. The progress chief was thus an achieved status, not an ascribed one. In creating the title, little else was provided as the criterion for determining who deserved the title besides one's development efforts. In the years since its creation, a whole bevy of migrants to Ghana, some with little understanding of what exactly the title meant, have seen themselves crowned as progress chiefs or queenmothers across the length and breadth of this country. Noteworthy examples in this regard include Henk Otte, a Dutchman who was crowned Togbe Ferdinand Gakpetor II, chief in Mepe, Hans Roth, a Swissman who was made Ankobeahene in his wife's hometown of Kokobin, Hans Buser also Swiss is Nkosuohene of

Agogo, Jimmy Moxon, one time District Commissioner in colonial Ghana who was made Onyaasehene and Ankobeahene of the Akuapem-Anafo Traditional Council, and the German Cornelia Von Wuelfing is queenmother in the Alavanyo Traditional Area. Infact, a Dutch woman, Rullman-Schmidt lays claim to the queenmother title in four different communities in the country (Steegstra, 2006).

The malleable understanding of the criterion for chieftaincy which is evident in the notion of progress chiefs/queenmothers is also evident in some Zongo communities across the country. In Kumasi Zongo, by 1920, the British had recognised four individuals as chiefs of the Hausa, Mossi, Yoruba and Wangara Zongo communities (Schildkrout, 2006: 591). In the Mossi community of the 1990s, the chief, Alhaji Abdul Rahman was a direct descendant of the previous chief. With his death on December 12, 1994, however, contestation arose over the notion of chief as an ascribed status in the Mossi community. Alhaji Amadu Abubakari, a first generation migrant, originally from Burkina Faso contested for the title of chief in direct competition with Alhaji Ibrahim Abdul Rahman Adam, eldest son of the late chief. The case was laid first before the Asantehene, Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, then the Kumasi High Court and eventually the Supreme Court of Ghana. The Asantehene, himself an ascribed ruler whose claims to the title lay in his lineage, sided with the new migrant and his claims to the title based on his lived understanding of authentic Mossi culture. The courts, however, declared that although “the office in question was not a chiefship, the head of the Mossi community was Alhaji Ibrahim Abdul Rahman (Schildkrout, 2006: 597), son of the late ‘chief’”. The Courts operated on the basis of the Constitution which makes it quite clear that a chief is a “person who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected, or selected and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queenmother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage.” Based on this definition, leaders of migrant ethnic communities could not be described as chiefs. In determining who the leaders of such communities were, however, the Courts resorted to the rule of ascription which is the basis of selecting chiefs. Meanwhile, the Asantehene, in siding with the non-descendant of two former chiefs, tacitly approved of achievement as the criterion for leadership even though his own legitimate claim to his leadership lay in ascription. Clearly, in migrant communities, so far as the traditional monarch was considered, the rules of the game as pertained to the determination of leadership could be modified.

A third example of the changing definition of chieftaincy wrought by migration is evident in the creation of chieftaincy titles in cities in various destinations. For example, second, third and fourth generation immigrants to Ghana now resident in New York have designated Alhaji Ibrahim Abu as the Sarki or chief of the Ghanaian Zongo community in New York. The basis for his legitimacy is three-fold. First, he was the earliest identified Zongo migrant to New York. Second, he is the brother of the Gurmah chief in Kumasi Zongo and third, he is married to a sister of Alhaji Abdul Rahman who had been chief of the Mossi Zongo community. While in the case of Alhaji Abu, his claim to the title of chief is based partly on ascription and partly on achievement as in the traditional sense (Arhin, 1985), what is interesting in his case is the idea that migration in itself can be an achievement for which one can be rewarded with the position of a chief. This proliferation of chiefs and sub-chiefs in destinations around the world is not unique to New York. It is evident in most of the major cities of the world such as Toronto, London and Hamburg.

Conclusion

Social factors have been associated with migration processes and the outcomes. Their consequences for transformations in culture - structural changes, norms and values - can be linked to the new transnational migration, a concept that aids in the understanding of how migrants keep ties with their societies at their origin. They are not uprooted but rather rooted at the destination areas while keeping ties with their communities of origin. They may keep multiple ties even. The concept of transnational migration opens up new ways of analysing the relationship between migration and social change.

Ghanaian migrants, having lived transnational lifestyles, have contributed to the transformations in the performance of funerals and the transformation of the chieftaincy institution. The innovations have been necessitated by the need of the migrants to share in these two aspects of the culture of Ghanaian society and the benefits that their families and networks derive from the participation of the migrants in these areas. Enduring institutions such as chieftaincy are affected by the forces of innovation resulting from the processes of migration.

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Chapter Seven

MIGRATION OF HEALTH PROFESSIONALS IN GHANA

Kwesi Asabir

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Health is defined as the complete physical, mental and social well-being of an individual and not the absence of disease and infirmity (World Health Organisation, 2004). The growth and development of a nation largely depends on the health of the population of that nation. The populace of that nation may be productive when the country has good healthcare system that provides preventive, curative and rehabilitative healthcare services. However, health inequality across the world is getting extreme. A snapshot comparison of the health care among high income countries and low income countries (Mensah et al. 2005) shows inequality in the life expectancy and total health expenditure (public and private) in favour of high income countries. The inequality in life expectancy among rich and poor countries may be linked to the strength of health system that is dependent on the level of development of a nation; with rich countries having better life expectancy (Lowell and Findlay 2001 and Dovlo 2003).

The population of low income countries especially in Sub-Sahara Africa from which some health professionals are migrating to the United Kingdom, United State of America and other high income countries suffer from high levels of morbidity and mortality, associated with very severe under-funding of health services (public and private) Indeed, childhood mortality in general and infant mortality in particular are often used as broad indicators of social development or as specific indicators of health status. Childhood mortality rates were used to monitor a country's progress towards Millennium Development Goal 4, which aimed for a two-thirds reduction in the under-five mortality rate by the year 2015 (United Nations 2000).

In the case of Ghana, results from the 2014 Ghana Demography Health Survey (GDHS) conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service were used in monitoring the impact of major national neonatal and child health

interventions, strategies, and policies such as the Under-5 Child Health Policy 2007 – 2015, which was intended to reduce under-5 mortality from 111 deaths per 1,000 live births (GDHS 2003) to 40 deaths per 1,000 live births by 2015. Neonatal, post neonatal, infant, child, and under-5 mortality rates are calculated from birth and death data derived from vital registration forms or from household surveys. According to the survey, Infant mortality rate is 41 deaths per 1,000 live births and under-5 mortality is slightly higher at 60 deaths per 1,000 live births. At these levels, one in every 24 Ghanaian children dies before reaching age 1, and one in every 17 does not survive to his or her fifth birthday. Consequently, the need for health system strengthening, with productive health professionals in place impact positively on better health outcomes and development of a nation.

The global labour market serves as a pool for countries all over the world to attract appropriate health professionals for their quality healthcare services. The loss of health professionals from Sub-Saharan Africa is a serious problem. Generally, the quality of medical education offered in countries such as Ghana qualifies the health professional to work in any part of the world. This makes the Ghanaian health professional in the global labour market venerable to be attracted to high income countries. Unfortunately, inadequate tools and equipment to deliver quality healthcare frustrate health professionals during healthcare provision and may contribute to migration of healthcare professionals to high income countries (Asabir, 2009).

Additionally, global labour markets for health professionals may be competitive as the demand of the services of health professionals by developed countries may outnumber the supply of the overseas-trained health professionals available for healthcare services. The cost and time spent to train qualify health professionals generally may push develop countries to attract trained health professionals from the global labour market. By so doing, the cost of training and time to be spent during training is avoided. The global labour market provides an avenue for develop countries to poach trained health professionals from countries that are under develop to fill the health professional gap that may exist in the develop countries.

For instance, the United Kingdom and United State of America population rely on health professional trained elsewhere for their healthcare (Willets and Martineau, 2004). There is the need for more research on international migrations as it impacts on the development of both countries of destination and countries of origin. Skeldon (2005:5) states: "... increase in the number of international migration over recent decades has been

more than matched by the growth in research into issues surrounding this international population movement”.

While some amount of mobility is obviously necessary if developing countries are to integrate into the global economy, a large outflow of health professionals poses a threat of brain drain which can adversely impact the growth and development of countries of origin (Castle and Miller, 2003).

1.2 Understanding Ghana's International Migration

As reviewed in Anarfi et al. (2003), international migration within West Africa has been a long established history. They argue that prior to the 1960s Ghana experienced minimal international migration, mainly because of its relative economic prosperity. They further observe that Ghana's advantageous economic position attracted many migrants from neighbouring West African countries. In 1965, large-scale emigration of Ghanaians began (Anarfi et al., 2000). In their view, this coincided with the beginning of a period of economic crisis in Ghana. They describe the period as a crisis moment, which manifested itself in a balance of payments deficit, growing unemployment and social malaise, which lasted well into the 1990s. Van Hear (1998) highlights this period as the point at which Ghanaian emigration began on a substantial scale. Peil (1995) argues that migration became a common household strategy in Ghana and estimates that around 10-20% total number of professionals such as doctors, nurses, teachers and lawyers leaving the country for a better life elsewhere. Essentially migration became “the basic survival strategy for individuals and families to enable them to cope with difficult economic conditions” (Anarfi et al, 2000:6).

During the 1980s Ghana lost many of its trained professionals including skilled health workforce (for estimate of various professional migrant flow see Anarfi et al., 2000). Evidence of the large number of Ghanaians living abroad became evident in the large deportation of foreign national from Nigeria in 1983, where estimates of Ghanaian deportees stand at over one million (Adeku, 1995). Adeku observes that out-migration continued through the 1990s to a range of countries including the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and countries in the West African sub-region.

Several studies were done on the high rate of emigration beginning from the mid-1960s and sustained to 1990s. Anarfi et al. (2003) offer macro-economic reasons for the exodus. Abdulai (1999) also points out some of the reasons for the long history of emigration from Ghana to other countries as economic decline and political instability, which has been

further exacerbated by a high population growth rate over the last three decades and thus a high labour supply together with booming economics in developed countries creating a pull effect. “The Voices of the Poor” study on Ghana by Kunfaa (1999) indicates that young people feel they have no choice but leave home in search of work, since the successful generation of remittance is likely to make the difference between food security and lack of it for their families. The study also shows that in the Ghanaian context gender is a strong determinant of migration, such that men have a higher propensity to migrate. Women on the other hand, tend to migrate in order to join their husbands (Treveh, 1997). Moreover, in Treveh’s view, with societal and cultural norms favouring men, it is possible that this discrimination may result in the disproportionate migration of men over women.

National income in the form of remittance is extremely important for the Ghanaian economy (Anarfi, et al., 2003). They state that the Bank of Ghana estimates migrant remittances at approximately US\$ 400 million during the year 2001, representing approximately 20% of Ghana’s export earnings. Anarfi et al. (2003) further explain that this money plays a crucial role in maintaining macro-economic stability in the country. A study by Asiedu (2003) also shows that over 70% of remittances were used for recurrent expenditure (mainly for consumption purposes) that included costs of hospital visits and bill, education, marriage, funerals, debt repayments and expenditure on other consumables. He argues that less than 30% of remittances were used for long-term investment purposes. The 1991 study of returns of migrants (Twum-Baah and Nabila, 1995) found that the majority of remittances brought back by returnees were in the form of goods rather than cash.

Even though the employment that Ghanaians secure abroad may result in sending remittances back to Ghana, the inability of Ghana to obtain the health-related MDGs was partly due to inadequate health professionals. The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) three (3) spanning from 2016 to 2030 deals with Good health and wellbeing of the individual. This requires access and affordable quality healthcare in Ghana.

1.3 Pattern and Consequences of Health Professional Migration

The global stock of migrants is largely concentrated in a relatively small number of countries of destinations. Over the three quarters of the stock in the year 2000 were found in just 28 countries representing 12% of all

countries in the world in that year (Ziotnik, 2005). Ziotnik observed that the share of the global stock of health professional migrants found in the United States of America increased from 14% in 1980 to 20% in the year 2000. In the year 2000 alone, Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries estimated that they had 59 million migrants of which 34.4 were health professional migrants or in absolute numbers representing 20.4 million health professional migrants. More than 85% of that total was found in just six countries: the United State of America; (50%), Canada (13.5%); Australia (7.5%), the United Kingdom (6.2%), Germany; (4.8%) and France (3.0%) (Docquier and Marfour, 2005:16).

There may be strong consensus that deficiency in the number of health professionals may be a major reason why developing countries have poor health indicators (Stark, 2004). The concern is where part of the inadequate resources of under developed countries is used to train highly skilled healthcare professionals who move to developed countries to render healthcare service. These moves contribute to the scarcity of health professionals such as medical officers, nurses and pharmacists in under developed countries. These health professionals are generally trained with the money of the taxpayer who does not enjoy healthcare service from these professionals (Demet, 2003 and Cohen, 2004). Therefore, receiving countries largely are able to save time and resources that would have been used for training health professionals.

The movement of health professionals may also take place both within countries (for example, rural-urban migration) and at international level, that is across national borders). According to Castle and Miller (2003:8), “the movement of individuals or families across national boundaries is referred to as international migration”.

The international migration may be temporary movements of health professional (short term) and permanent migration (long term). Those two forms of international flows are channels for the international transfer of knowledge. For instance, a United Nations (2007) report explains that migration of skilled health persons has different determinants, longer-term consequences and policy implications for countries of origin and for countries of destination. Countries may either gain or lose from those flows. Therefore, international permanent immigration of health professionals, in principle, may contribute to building a country's human capital or skill endowment, while international permanent emigration of health professionals may entail (at least immediately) a loss in a country's stock

of human capital (Pang, 2002). For instance, OECD (2004) refers to those two processes as “brain gain” and “brain loss” respectively. The circulation of health professionals in any direction may be termed “brain circulation” (Ramaurthy, 2003:6). In effect, the most important for a country’s long-term development is the net effect of migratory flows. The health systems are coordinated and operationalized by health professionals for better health outcomes. Countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, are likely to have a collapse health system, in view of the crisis relating to the movement of their doctors and nurses opting to move to greater security and higher salaries in Europe, North America and Australia (Manning and Sidorenko, 2007).

1.4 Human Development and Skilled Migration

Generally, human development is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and productive and creative lives in accordance with their needs and interest (Mensah et al. 2005). Again, human development is about much more than the rise or falls of national incomes (Lowell and Findlay 2001). People are largely the real wealth of nations (Walton, 1999). Development is thus about expanding the choices people have living long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community (O’Neil 2003; Mutume 2003; Oyewe 1996).

For instance, acquisition of appropriate skills enable a person to be productive as and when the skills acquired are broadly used to render service to benefit human kind. In view of this, destination countries prefer skilled migrants to unskilled migrants because the individuals with skills has the potential to render more productive service to the country where they live. For instance, skills for the health sector are seen as essential for the improvement of the basic welfare of any population, and the loss of medical personnel from a developing country may be seen as detrimental to the achievement of primary development goals (OECD, 2004). From this point of view, the migration of skilled health professionals is often seen as different from other types of skilled migration. That is, it is in some way exceptional and considerable research and policy attention has to be directed towards it. Studies have shown that the population of foreign medical graduates in the United States rose from around “18% in 1970s to 25% in 2000 and that there could still be a shortfall of 800,000 nurses

by 2020” (Bach 2003:6). Consequently, the need for develop countries to attract foreign health professionals to strengthen their health system may continue to prevail over a period of time.

During the late 1990s, Skeldon (2005) observed, about 2,000 highly skilled workers in sciences and technology left South Africa each year. While countries in Africa suffer from international migration, the severity may differ depending on the trend of production of health professionals and strategies to retain against the trend of health professionals that migrate. Indeed, countries with relatively small numbers of medical personnel suffer immensely when some of the limited skill base in health personnel leaves. This situation applies particularly for other Sub-Saharan countries and for small island economies. For example, it has been estimated that between the years 2000-2005 the number of doctors leaving Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe and Uganda represent more than 30% of the resident stock of doctors (WHO 2005:31). Skeldon (2005:21) again estimate Ghanaian-born doctors overseas as being equivalent to half of the domestic pool. These kinds of figures clearly indicate that significant numbers of African skilled health persons are rendering services in developed countries.

In the year 2005, doctor population ratio in Ghana was one doctor to ten thousand seven population (1:10,700) The 2002-2007 Policy and Strategic document of the Human Resource for Health Directorate of the Ministry of Health directed an increase intake of health trainees into health training institutions. This policy direction is now yielding results (see Table 7.1, Table 7.2 and Table 7.3) In addition to; increasing production of health professionals there were other interventions introduced to retain the health professionals in Ghana. Interventions such as salary enhancement, opportunity to further studies leading to improve career progression, vehicle hire purchase scheme among others has reduced the trend of international migration. Indeed, there has been an improvement of the number of health professionals in Ghana (Ministry of Health, Human Resource for Health Annual Report, 2013).

Table 7.1: NUMBERS OF HEALTH PRACTITIONERS IN GHANA 2011-2015

Year	Permanent	Temporary	Provisional	Total
2011	2960	369	607	3936
2012	3320	403	735	4458
2013	3214	381	961	4556
2014	3707	393	1034	5134
2015	4681	248	1018	5947

Source: Medical and Dental Council, Ghana Trend Analysis Report: 2016

The above table shows a significant rise of Medical Officers in Ghana from 2011 to 2015. Table 2 explains the source of the significant increase. Ghana now has four (4) Medical schools. The University of Ghana Medical School and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Medical School have two intakes each at their clinical years (4th year in Medical School) leading to additional production of Medical Officers at the end of the medical programme. There are Ghanaians who pursue their medical programme abroad and return Home to practice after successfully passing the Medical and Dental Council professional examination (see Table 7.2)

Table 7.2 NUMBERS OF HOUSE OFFICERS INDUCTED IN 2011-2015

School	2011	2012	2013	2014	Jan-Oct 2015	Total
UGMS	138	158	167	185	152	800
UGDS	26	28	20	23	5	102
UDS-SMHS	-	45	63	82	34	240
KNUST-SMS	112	137	127	125	177	678
KNUST-DS	-	8	13	0	21	42
Foreign Trained	34	49	104	37	89	313
UCC-SMS	-	-	42	46	42	130
Total	310	425	536	498	520	2305

Source: Medical and Dental Council, Ghana Trend Analysis Report: 2016

The above table shows an evidence of investing time and other resources in training Medical Officers to enhance existing number of health professionals. The students who were enrolled at the clinical years spent a minimum of four (4) years in training, while the other year group spent over nine (9) years in training. The nine (9) years include a minimum of seven (7) years competency base training and two (2) year houseman ship as prescribe by the Medical and Dental Council for Medical Officer's training.

Table 7.3: NURSING AND MIDWIFERY COUNCIL OF GHANA BASIC NURSING AND MIDWIFERY PROGRAMMES: ANNUAL NUMBER OF CANDIDATES LICENSED (NCL) FROM NURSING AND MIDWIFERY TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

PROGRAMME	2010 NCL	2011 NCL	2012 NCL	2013 NCL	2014 NCL	2015 NCL
Registered General Nursing	3953	1871	2072	2557	3126	3428
Registered Midwifery	426	526	788	648	1282	1584
Registered Mental Nursing	349	332	273	279	507	407
Registered Community Nursing	35	49	62	92	56	157

Source: Nursing and Midwifery Council, Ghana Trend Analysis Report; 2016

In the area of nursing and midwifery the policy to increase intake placed emphasis on midwifery training to address issues on MDGs 4 and 5 (infant and maternal healthcare). Table 3 depicts an enhanced numbers of Registered Midwives from the year 2010 to 2015.

In an attempt to address migration of skilled health persons, Skeldon and Gent (2007) note, some countries opted for training system that are more appropriate to the needs of the majority of poor rural people, in effect producing health personnel who are not marketable internationally but who are needed locally. For instance, Chen et al. (2004) indicate that any such approach would have parallel with the Chinese approach to primary healthcare in the 1960s where non-professional health personnel, barefoot doctors were involved in extending healthcare into isolated areas or where needed. However, such radical approaches need not necessarily form the ideal model, and countries might opt for systems of community-based training of individuals to bring basic health care to places where it is most needed (Cole and Neumayer, 2005). On the other hand, system of medical training does to encourage community work but rather in a developed environment contributing to international migration (Skeldon and Gent, 2006:3). Therefore, they suggest that some variant of a two-tier system of training might be considered in which doctors and nurses are trained to international standard and it is accepted that losses will occur, but many others are trained to more basic levels of health care. These levels, for instance, may be appropriate to areas of high infant and child mortality and

areas where expectation of life is low and where the patterns of morbidity and mortality are different from those in urban and international areas (Skeldon, 2005).

1.5 Understanding the Relationship between Health and Development

There is generally a strong positive association between health and economic development. Empirically the relationship between health and the economy has been documented by many studies (Schultz, 1997, 1999a); and they show that low population health impedes economic well-being and economic development directly through economic losses to society contributing to low life expectancy. On the other hand, improvement in health broadly enhances workers' productivity by increasing their physical capacities, such as strength and endurance as well as their mental capacities, such as cognitive functioning and reasoning ability. Evidence of this relationship has been provided by many empirical studies at the microeconomic level (Savedoff and Thomas Schutlz, 2000; Schutlz, 1999a, b, 2002 and Tansel1992; Strauss and Thomas 1998). For instance low individual worker productivity occurs when disease conditions reduce the work output of the sick and temporarily or permanently displace a worker and thus reduces his or her number of productive working years. Cross-country regression for the year 1965-1990 periods by Gallup and Sachs (2001), for example revealed that poor countries like Ghana with serious disease conditions such as malaria grew 1.3% less per person per year, controlling for initial poverty, economic policy, tropical location, and life expectancy, among other factors. Additional losses from poor health and unsanitary environments stem from reduced returns on investments in education (unhealthy children have reduced capacity to produce returns on the education they receive), and also from depressed returns to investments in business and infrastructure (high prevalence of disease undermines perceived growth potential for sectors such as agriculture, mining, manufacturing, tourism) and hence economic growth.

Table 7. 4 Doctor/1000 Population ration World Bank 2001

COUNTRY STATUS	RATIO	COMMENTS
HIGH INCOME	2.8/1000	28 DOCTORS PER 10,000
MIDDLE INCOME	1.8/1000	18 DOCTORS PER 10,000
LOW INCOME	0.5/1000	5 DOCTORS PER 10,000
SUB SAHARAN AFRICAN	0.1/1000	1 DOCTOR PER 10,000

Source: World Bank Report 2001

The economic status of a country contributes to the country's ability to retain health professionals. Poor countries per table 4 had low doctor population ration. Generally, low income countries have difficulty establishing enhanced interventions to attract health professionals leading to exodus to high income countries. In the year 2005, Ghana was one of the Sub-Saharan African countries with a doctor population ratio of 1:10,700 as stated earlier. The relationship between health and economic development is a two-way affair.

The negative effects of poor health on productivity and economic development in most Sub-Saharan Africa countries, including Ghana, have also been widely documented (Cole and Neumayer 2005; McCarthy et al, 2000 and Bhargava et al 2001). The Ghana Macroeconomic and Health Initiative (GMHI 2005) for instance, relate the heavy burden of disease, and its multiple effects on productivity, demography, and education to Africa's chronic poor economic performance. In its estimation the high prevalence of malaria, for instance, costs Africa 1% annually in lost economic growth. Hence experts assert that more than half of Africa's growth shortfall relative to high growth countries in East Asia may largely be attributed to its relatively high burden of disease, demography and geographical location rather than traditional variables of macro-economic policy and political governance (Bloom and Sachs 1998).

Again, it appears that all these economic costs and losses of well-being associated with poor population health may broadly be underscored by macro-economic evidence of a positive correlation between better health and higher economic development. In addition, the losses from poor population health generally manifest themselves quantitatively in reductions in market income, longevity, and psychological well-being (that is pain and suffering) caused by illness (Philipson and Soares, 2001). Therefore, any evaluation of economic development that do not take into account the direct relationship of health status and economic well-being may tend to

undermine the economic benefits of good health (Nordhaus and William, 2002). Finally, the burden of disease thus appears to stand as a stark barrier to economic growth and vice versa therefore must be addressed frontally in any comprehensive development strategy.

1.6 The Inability of Ghana to attain the Health related Millennium Development Goals

The inadequate health professionals in Ghana contributed to the inability of Ghana to attain the health related MDGs by the end 2015. International migration of health professionals generally contribute to a severe shortage of medical officers, pharmacist, nurses and midwives and eventually distort the skill-mix of health professionals operating healthcare delivery system (Human Resource for Health Development, 2007). This has been manifested in the form of work overload, burnout syndromes, and lack of motivation for research and ultimately compromising of quality of healthcare (GHMI, 2005). The recommended ratio of 2.5: 1000 (doctors, nurses and midwife to the population) of a country was required to meet the MDGs (Mujanja, Kibuka and Dovlo 2005). It is assume that the infusion of substantial international funding with lack of sufficient health professionals makes it difficult to achieve health related targets of MDGs (Travis et al 2004; Dovlo 2005). For example, the three out of eight MDG indicators that were directly related to health were reducing child mortality, improving maternal health and combating HIV/AIDS, TB, malaria and other communicable diseases.

For a country to have a better health outcomes the health system that has six components require strengthening. World Health Organization (2010) points out key components of a well functioning health system where the components of the health system include the following: leadership and governance; healthcare service delivery; health workforce; health information technology; health financing and essential medical products. The availability of the right skill mix of the health workforce drives the health system towards achieving better health outcome. The reduction in international migration as a result of Government policy to improve the Health sector by implementing policies such as establishing Ghana College of Physicians and Surgeons (GCPS) in 2003 where medical officers could enrol for specialize programme in country, unlike when medical officers had to travel abroad when the opportunity was not available, salary enhancement for public sector health workers, vehicle hire purchase revolving scheme for

all category of health workers and enforcing of bonding scheme for health trainees who enjoy Government sponsorship.

Looking at the trend above there appears to be a correlation between increasing number of health workers corresponding to improvement in health outcomes. For example, Tables 1 and 3 show trend in increasing health workers in Ghana while Table 5 and Figure 1 show improvement in maternal and child health over the same period.

Table 7.5 Trends in early childhood mortality rates-infant and Under-five, Ghana, 1983-2014.

<i>Survey Year</i>	<i>Approximately calendar period</i>	<i>Infant mortality (per 1,000)</i>	<i>Under-five Mortality (per 1,000)</i>
1988	1983-1987	77	155
1993	1989-1993	66	119
1998	1994-1998	57	108
2003	1999-2003	64	111
2008	2004-2008	50	80
2014	2009-2014	41	60

Source: Ghana Demographic and Health Survey Key Indicators (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015:29)

The key indicators on Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (Ghana Statistical Service 2015: 29) show a marked decline in childhood mortality over the past 30 years. This decline appears to have halted briefly during the period 1999-2003, and then continued a further decline from 2003 to 2014. For example, the under-five mortality rate decreased from 111 per 1,000 live births for the 2003 GDHS to 80 per 1,000 for 2008 GDHS and 60 per 1,000 live births for 2014 GDHS. Comparatively, there was also a decline in infant mortality from 64 per 1,000 to 50 per 1,000 and further decline to 41 per 1,000 over the same period 2003 to 2014 respectively. Though, there were a decline observed from 2003, the rate of decline was slow accounting for Ghana's inability to attain the health related MDGs at the end of 2015.

However, the decline in both infant mortality and under-five mortality may be assigned to improved skilled health professionals over the ten year (2003-2014) period as depicted in Tables 1 and 3. For example, the infant mortality rate declined from 64 per 1,000 in 2003 to 50 per 1,000 in 2008 and further to 41 per 1,000 in 2014. Similarly, the Under-five mortality rate

decreased from 111 per 1,000 in 2003 to 80 per 1,000 in 2008 and 60 per 1,000 in 2014.

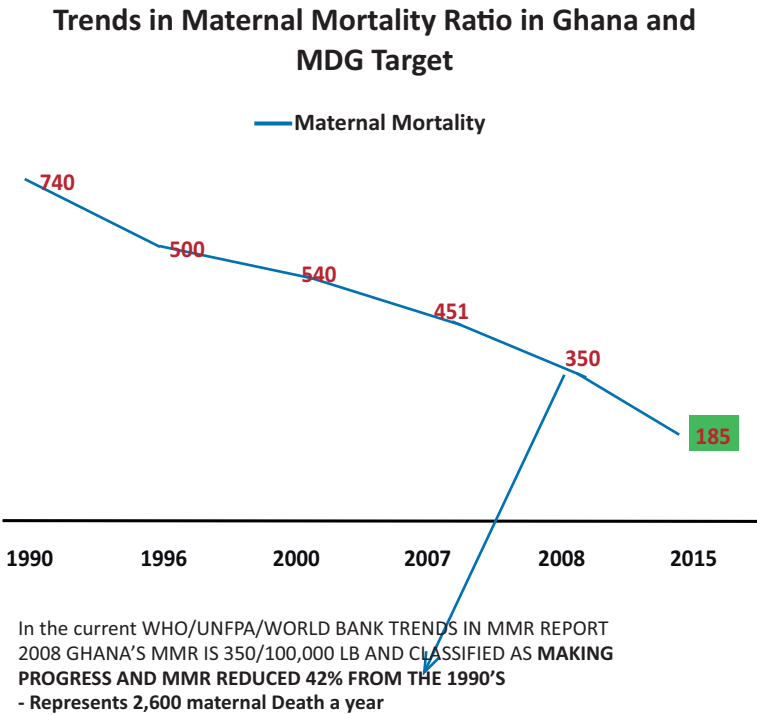


Figure 7.1 Maternal Health in Ghana before 2015

Figure 7.1 shows a gradual reduction in the trend of maternal mortality in Ghana. While steady progress was made over two decades, Ghana was not able to meet the target. Ghana Statistical Service (2003) reports a 2002 survey result on Service Provision Assessment (SPA) showing that a full package of maternal, child and reproductive health services was found only in 28% of healthcare facilities partly due to the lack of adequate numbers of healthcare providers. The Ghana SPA 2002 suggested that outpatient services were grossly understaffed.

Ghana Macroeconomics and Health Initiative (2005) observed that only 88% of all healthcare facilities had at least one qualified healthcare provider (that is physician, pharmacist, professional nurse, medical laboratory technologist, and professional midwife or public health nurse). Furthermore, only 13% of these facilities had all criteria and capacity to provide quality

24 hour emergency services. Aarnson (2005) argues that it is vulnerable children who suffer disproportionately when health professionals migrate; and migration has contributed to the difficulty of the health sector to meet the health related MDGs by the year 2015. Health outcomes could improve drastically when all the interrelated six components (leadership, human resource for health, healthcare service delivery, drugs supply, information technology and healthcare financing) of the health system are strengthened.

Conclusion

The health related MDGs was not attained at the end of 2015. The new global agenda is Sustainable Development with seventeen Goals. The third goal is to ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages. The availability of health professionals is crucial for Ghana Health Sector to sustain the gains prior to the end of 2015 as well as attain Sustainable Development Goal three (3).

The 'heartbeat' of the health system is the health professionals. Majority of the components of the health system is managed by the health professionals. In view of this role and responsibility, migration of health professionals to other countries weakens the health system resulting in poor health outcomes. Healthcare may continue to be labour intensive and for that matter the absence of health professional may bring to a halt the functioning of the health system and that may impact negatively on the economic development of a nation.

From the foregoing, health indicators improved with Reduction in international migration of health professionals.

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Chapter Eight

RETURN AND REINTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS TO GHANA

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INTRODUCTION

It is observed that every migration stream generates a counter-stream, suggesting that as much as migration is crucial, return migration is equally important (Ravenstein, 1885; King, 2000; Cassarino, 2007). The significance of the return movement led to the first European conference on international return migration, held in Rome in 1981 (Kubat, 1981). Following this, Wyman (2005: 16), citing some fascinating return migration statistics, noted that at least one-third of the 52 million Europeans who left Europe between 1824 and 1924 returned permanently to their homelands. The return rate was even greater after the economic recession that hit the USA in 1931: 89,000 left the USA compared with only 43,000 persons who arrived. Most likely, some of those who left the USA found their way into Latin America and the African continent.

This historical acknowledgement of the significance of examining return migration has been further strengthened by the emergence of the 'brain-drain' syndrome and its impact on the economies of developing countries. Despite this assertion, Arowolo (2000: 73), in a report about sub-Saharan African returnees, expressed the view that return migration has been poorly researched for far too long worldwide. However, issues related to return movements are bound to receive wider attention as mobility of people, especially, trade- and investment-related, short-term movements gather pace alongside increasing economic globalisation.

In Ghana, by the mid-1990s the number of Ghanaians abroad was estimated at more than three million persons, constituting about 10-20 percent of the population (see Peil, 1995; Anarfi *et al.*, 2003). As a result, the development of the 'Ghanaian diaspora' began to take shape (Manuh and Asante, 2005; Tonah, 2007; Nieswand, 2005; Awumbila *et al.*, 2011). The return of these migrants since the early 1990s has been attributed to the stable political conditions, improvements in the economy and the recent

discovery of oil in Ghana (Awumbila *et al.*, 2011). Available data on return migration to Ghana indicates that ten percent of Ghanaian emigrants return in any given year (1999 Ghana Living Standard Survey [GLSS], cited in Quartey, 2009). Recent studies indicate that most of these return migrants remain in the urban centres, particularly Accra and Kumasi (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003; Taylor, 2009).

There are some studies addressing specific aspects of return migration (temporal or permanent) to Ghana by scholars from the University of Ghana including Anarfi *et al.* (2003), ISSER (2003), Asiedu (2005) and Manuh and Asante (2005). Anarfi *et al.* (2003), for example, examines the composition of return migrants to Ghana and conclude that there is an increasing substantial number of Ghanaians returning home and that there is little difference between the age and sex composition of returnees and that of the general Ghanaian population. Most return migrants settled in the Ashanti, Western and the Greater Accra regions which are the economically endowed regions in Ghana thus suggesting that “even return migration may be economically motivated” (page 22). They further assert that Ghanaian returnees tended to invest in small businesses on their return, while skilled persons often introduced changes in their work places. An ISSER (2003) study on the State of the Ghana Economy indicates that many Ghanaians abroad maintain close links with home and account for majority of visitors to Ghana. Asiedu (2005), on the other hand, wrote extensively on the benefits of short term visits to Ghana by Ghanaians residing abroad. He referred to these return trips to one’s place of origin or birth as “visiting friends and relatives” (VFR). The benefits of VFR identified in this study were related to donations, expenditures and investments made in Ghana. Manuh and Asante (2005) also examine the contributions of Ghanaian migrants to the political and socio-economic development of Ghana with particular reference to the Home Coming Summit of 2001. They conclude that Non-Resident Ghanaians (NRG) contribute significantly to the development of Ghana. Their remittances constituted the third largest source of foreign exchange for the country in 2001. The above-mentioned scholarly studies, however, did not delve into the challenges facing returnees to Ghana.

This chapter discusses the theoretical perspectives on return migration and the historical antecedents of international return migration in Ghana. It further examines some programmes on return migration in Ghana as well as the challenges migrants face on their return. The chapter concludes with some benefits of return migration and makes some recommendations

for policy attention. The data for this paper was gathered mainly from secondary sources such as literature on return migration, programmes and challenges derived from reports, students' theses, books, academic journals and scholarly sites on the internet. The chapter also benefited from research works and publications of the authors on return and reintegration (see Kyei, 2013; Setrana and Tonah, 2014; Agyeman and Setrana, 2014).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON RETURN MIGRATION

The process of return migration is usually conceptualized under four main theoretical perspectives. The first is the neo-classical (NE) perspective. According to this theory the migration process is motivated by wage differentials between origin and destination countries in which case migrants generally move from areas or countries with low wages to those with higher wages (Borjas, 1989). According to Thomas (2008), within this framework, migrants will only return home if they fail to derive the expected benefits of higher earnings abroad (see also Constant and Massey, 2002; Cassarino, 2004). In contrast to the neoclassical theory, the New Economics of Labour Migration theory (NELM) considers return migration "as part of a defined plan conceived by migrants before their departure from their countries of origin" (Thomas, 2008: 657). Adherents of this theory argue that the original plan of migrants includes planning for an eventual return to their destinations after accumulating sufficient resources abroad. Therefore, most migrants leave home with the intention of acquiring skills, savings, and other resources that would be useful to them upon their return home. The adventure abroad is often considered to be a temporal enterprise and most migrants would therefore return home immediately they have achieved their goals (Ammassari, 2004). Thus, whereas those who return according to the NE perspective are generally considered to be "failures", adherents of the NELM theory consider returnees to be "successful" individuals who had planned their return home.

Structural theories on return migration, on the other hand, stress the importance of the social, economic, and political conditions in the home countries not only as major factors in the decision to return but also as factors that affect the ability of returning migrants to make use of the skills and resources that they have acquired abroad. Unlike the other two theories, structural theories of return migration do not consider the success of the migration experience abroad to be a key determining factor in the

decision to return; instead they focus on the ability of return migrants to be productive after arriving at home. They argue that returnees may not be able to reintegrate if the 'gap' between norms and values at home and their own is too large. They may therefore decide to depart again. Alternatively, they may also respond to expectations at home by spending their savings on consumption or unproductive investments.

In comparison with the NE, NELM and the Structural approach to understanding return migration, transnationalism provides a different framework for explaining return and reintegration. It helps to understand the concept of reintegration as a process of re-adaptation which may not entail the abandonment of the identities they acquire while abroad. This is not to say that returnees are not faced with challenges of reintegration, but through the regular contacts maintained with their households in countries of origin, as well as the back-and-forth movements which illustrate transnational mobility (Portes, 1999; Cassarino, 2004; 2007), they are able to better prepare and sustain their return and reintegration. Examining the activities of migrants between home and host countries (during migration and after return) further assist in understanding return and reintegration as a process sustained through advanced technology and telecommunication. In this respect, return migrants are more likely to be reintegrated through the maintenance of contacts with host countries. However, there is hardly any empirical evidence on how the transnational perspective helps us to understand return migration and reintegration in the Ghanaian context. More importantly, the challenges returnees face (despite their cross-border activities) during their stay abroad has received little attention in the transnational framework approach.

Within the context of this study, reintegration is defined as the process of give and take in the home country as return migrants learn to live with their families and communities back home (Kyei, 2013). Preston (1993) argues that upon return from a chosen destination, the return migrant needs to be reintegrated into the original society as it will be unrealistic to assume that for the period that migrants remained outside their communities, the social and economic milieu to which migrants returned had not changed. There is also the need to appreciate the different social settings of the two destinations in question. Ni Laoire (2007) has also argued that the extent to which migrants would be estranged upon their return home would largely depend on the age of the migrant prior to leaving home, the length of time spent abroad, the nature of contact with family members and friends back

home and the level of engagement in transnational activities such as visits, calls, gift-giving and financial support to those back home.

2. RETURN MIGRATION TO GHANA: DATA SOURCES

There is relatively little information on international return to Ghana, but some characterisations can be made. The Ghana Living Standard Survey of 1995 provides information on whether individuals are migrants or not, based on whether they are living outside their place of birth or have lived outside their place of birth for more than one year. It allows us to estimate the total number of residents who have lived abroad and then returned, dividing these into people who have lived in the neighbouring countries of Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Nigeria and Togo, and those who have moved beyond this region. The survey shows an estimated total of 80,000 international returnees from beyond the region in 1991/1992, of which eleven percent had returned within 1990/1991, and twenty percent had returned within the previous two years (Ghana Statistical Service, 1999). The equivalent figures for 1998/1999 show a fall in the number of international return migrants from outside the region, despite efforts by the Ghanaian government to encourage return. Thus, there were an estimated total number of international returnees from outside the region of around 50,000 of whom two percent had returned within 1997/1998 and seven percent had returned in the previous two years (Twum-Baah *et al.*, 1995).

Black, King and Litchfield (2003) note that the above figures “conflate returnees from Europe with returnees from North America, the Gulf States and other parts of Africa, although it seems likely that the majority of returns were from Europe”. Twum-Baah *et al.* (1995) estimated that the highest proportion of return migrants - about 20 percent - moved to the Ashanti Region, with the next most popular regions of destination being the Western and Greater Accra Regions. To them, these were so because of the economic endowment of the regions in both the modern and traditional sectors.

Van Hear (1998: 206-207), also provides an alternative source of information on return migration. He indicates how in 1993, some fifty-eight countries worldwide deported Ghanaian migrants confirming the process of diversification of destinations. Nonetheless, the largest numbers came from Germany, the UK, the Netherlands and Italy, who among them accounted for over two thirds of deportations of Ghanaians that year.

Anarfi *et al.* (2003) identify another set of Ghanaians living abroad, often settling there, but maintaining links and identifying with Ghana. Black and Ammassari (2001) report evidence of return to Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire in 2001 without government assistance. Some of these returnees invested in business activities at home (particularly in Ghana) – and that returnees who were doing this had usually worked abroad and accumulated savings. Relevant to this study are not the remittances or links per se but the extent to which the links maintained are used when reintegrating into the home society.

Besides the above data sources, there are some separate small-scale studies addressing specific aspects of return migration by Anarfi *et al.* (2003), Asiedu (2005) and Manuh and Asante (2005). Anarfi (1989) examined the health consequences of returning Ghanaian women from Ivory Coast in the 1980s. Asiedu (2005), on the other hand, found that Ghana benefits appreciably from short-term return visits of Ghanaians living abroad, although relatively few of these benefits were found to 'trickle down' to poorer regions in the north. Manuh and Asante (2005) have conducted studies on the Ghanaian government's efforts to encourage the return of its citizen. Other studies also include the Transrede project and the Eurostat financed project co-ordinated by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI). The Transrede project explored the relationship between migration and development on the macro-level through a comparative survey of returnees to Ghana and Ivory Coast (Black, King and Litchfield, 2003). The NIDI project, on the other hand, focused on the dynamics of emigration from Ghana to Europe by studying over 1,500 migrant and non-migrant households in four main sending regions of Ghana and another 500 migrants in Europe (Anarfi *et al.* 2000).

A more recent study conducted by Setrana and Tonah (2014) examined factors that influence return and reintegration using a mixed method approach. The findings indicated that majority of the returnees were successfully reintegrated while about a third were unsuccessfully reintegrated. Among various factors (namely, house ownership, age, satisfaction upon return, number of years abroad and obtaining overseas qualification) that influenced a successful reintegration, it was only "having attained overseas qualification" that had a significant effect on successful reintegration.

3. PROGRAMMES SUPPORTING RETURN MIGRATION TO GHANA

Policy initiatives undertaken by West African governments in the area of return migration have largely focused on limiting the movement of skilled migrants who go abroad, as well as, encouraging migrants abroad to return home. These initiatives were implemented with the main purpose of reversing the “brain drain” and to encourage migrants to utilize their accumulated capital for the development of the home country in the form of a “brain gain” or “brain circulation” (Black and Ammassari, 2001). It has however been claimed that most programmes that encourage the return of skilled migrants have been largely ineffective (Anarfi and Jagare, 2005). Some governments and international organizations have established and introduced targeted schemes to assist investment in business activities, thereby, promoting self-employment and small business formation amongst returning migrants (Black, Tiemoko and Waddington, 2003).

Until recently, migration was not a focus of the Ghanaian government as testified by the lack of programmes geared towards migrants and the lack of statistics on migrants and remittances until the turn of this century (Mazzucato, 2007). Reference was mainly made to the brain drain and thus migration was generally seen as something that needed to be controlled (Anarfi *et al.*, 2005; Asiedu, 2010). In fact, the brain drain remained a big issue in Ghana for a long time because forty percent of university faculty positions, sixty percent of polytechnic faculty positions and sixty-five percent of elementary school positions remained vacant (Manuh *et al.*, 2005), while at least forty-seven percent of tertiary-educated Ghanaians are overseas (Bhargava, Docquier and Moullan, 2010). Furthermore, thirty-seven percent of trained physicians and twenty-four percent of Ghanaian nurses live abroad (Clemens and Pettersson, 2006).

However, since 2001, various initiatives have put migration at the centre of government agenda. In 2001, the Ghanaian government organized a “Home Coming Summit” in Accra aimed at encouraging Ghanaian migrants to invest in their homeland, as well as establishing linkages between Ghanaians and the African-American Diaspora. A Non-Resident Ghanaian Secretariat was inaugurated in April 2004, after the conference to oversee the implementation of the recommendations of the Summit and to encourage the return of migrants through the establishment of ties with Ghanaians abroad. However, the Secretariat has since not been operational and has

remained under-resourced affecting its operations (Manuh and Asante, 2005). One of the main problems encountered by the Secretariat was access to data on the number of migrants overseas and effectively getting in touch with them (Mazzucato, 2007).

Another event drawing media and policy attention to the role of migrants in Ghana was the conference on 'Migration and Development in Ghana', held in Accra in September 2004, and organized by the UNDP, the Dutch Embassy and the University of Ghana. This conference received wide media coverage and resulted in a book: 'At Home in the World' edited by Manuh (2005). More importantly, the three institutional organizers of the conference established the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana that became operational in November 2006. This Centre is to coordinate and initiate much-needed research on the effects of migration in Ghana. At the governmental level, the Ministry of Interior through the Migration Unit has the mandate to draft policies that will mainstream migration into the development programmes of Ghana. In view of this, the Unit in collaboration with the Centre for Migration Studies (funded by IOM) has drafted a migration policy which is yet to be outdoored. In addition, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) set up the Diaspora Support Unit (now upgraded to the status of a Bureau). The Diaspora Affairs Bureau was officially launched as Diaspora Support Unit in November 2012 and now operates as part of the Legal and Consular Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. The aim of the Bureau is to enhance engagement and interaction between the Government of Ghana and the Ghanaian diaspora for national development.

Other recent policy initiatives include the Dual Citizenship Act of 2002 in which the Ghanaian government extended dual citizenship to Ghanaian migrants living abroad to help facilitate and also encourage their return. In February 2007, the Representation of Peoples Act (ROPAL), (Act 699) was passed by Ghana's Parliament to recognise the right of Ghanaians in the Diaspora to vote. The Ghanaian government also co-operated in the IOM-run 'Return of Qualified African Nationals' and Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programme on preventing brain drain in the health sector (IOM, 2004). The MIDA programme involved the temporary or permanent transfer of resources and skills of Ghanaian migrants as a way to promote the development of countries of origin. The TOKTEN (Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals) project of the United Nations

Development Programme (UNDP) and the Dutch Government's International Enterprise Projects, have also shown some contribution on the part of emigrants to the development of the home country (Quartey, 2006). These projects offer opportunities for expatriate nationals with lengthy experiences in their fields of specialization to return to their home countries for an agreed period of time on a voluntarily basis. These experts utilise their expertise as well as their familiarity with the local culture and language in order to effectively transfer their knowledge and skills. There is also a Diaspora Engagement Desk at Ghana's embassies and consulates abroad which does not only inform citizens abroad about conditions at home but also seeks to encourage them to return home temporarily or permanently. Despite these efforts, there is still more to be done, particularly in a much more detailed manner to encourage and sustain return and reintegration.

CHALLENGES OF RETURN AND REINTEGRATION AMONG GHANAIAN MIGRANTS

Although most returnees plan their return to Ghana and may be quite excited about their prospects, they nevertheless face several challenges.

In Ghana, return migration and the re-integration processes are often taken for granted by most residents, including public officials. It is mostly assumed that re-integration is 'normal' for return migrants, for after all, they are 'coming home'. The prevalence of such attitude among many stakeholders does not ensure the smooth resettlement of return migrants. Despite the strategies adopted by many returnees, they face quite a number of challenges and frustrations. Some of the challenges that impinge on the return migration process and prolong their reintegration into the home community are discussed below.

a. Poor Infrastructure

Generally, returnees have to cope with the poor state of infrastructural facilities in their places of residence and work. Most returnees are exasperated by the erratic supply of water, the frequent disruptions in power supply and the poor state of health and educational facilities in the country. Though they acknowledge that much has changed and progress has been made in the country since their departure abroad, they expected a much improved infrastructural facilities in the urban areas. Another issue

frequently discussed during meetings of returnees' associations is the poor sanitation condition in the country and the littering of the cities with plastics and other household wastes. Many are also overwhelmed by the difficulties associated with finding good schools for their wards within their immediate neighbourhoods. They believe a lot of time is wasted driving their kids to and from school daily. In the absence of a public transport system that covers large parts of the city, they have to organize private transport (taxi) services to bring their children to school and pick them up after school. Another issue of concern is the poor health infrastructure in the cities, particularly the absence of emergency services. Many returnees dread what to do in emergency situations (Taylor, 2009: 25; Kyei, 2013).

b. Meeting Expectations from Family, Friends and Community Members

A major challenge facing all return migrants is meeting the high expectations of relatives and community members. During the first few weeks after returning home, it is common for returnees to be inundated with visits and telephone calls from friends and relatives, many of whom expect to be given gifts and support in one form or the other. Some of the presents typically made by the returnees include clothing, perfumes, mobile phones, cameras, toiletries, footballs, as well as cash donations to relatives and friends. Returnees also receive requests for gifts from friends, relatives, school mates and well-wishers (Setrana and Tonah, 2014). Others request for funds to feed their families, pay school fees and hospitals bills, and meet other household expenditure. It is thus common for returnees to avoid persons making persistent demands for assistance. Whilst there is unanimity amongst the returnees that the reception given them by their kinsmen and acquaintances upon their return home is generally warm and rousing, the extent of support obtained, however, depended on the support given to the family members whilst they were abroad. Migrants who maintained close relationships with their kith and kin through regular telephone calls, visits, sending of gifts and remittances to cover the payment of school fees, medical bills, and funeral expenditure are very warmly received while those who did not do so were not so heartily welcomed (Kakbi *et al.*, 2004; Setrana and Tonah, 2014).

Besides gift-giving, residents expect returnees to display some level of affluence and sophistication in all spheres of their life. Returnees are regarded as 'been to' (that is, persons who have travelled overseas) or 'burgers' (a

term commonly used in the 1980s and 90s to refer to returnees from Europe, particularly Germany) and are expected to distinguish themselves as having lived abroad. This should be evident in what they wear, where and what they eat, where they reside and the means of transport used. They are expected to display a higher standard of living than other residents in the community. They are also expected to make substantial and generous donations at social events such as weddings, funerals, church programmes, associational, and club meetings. Many returnees describe these demands from their friends, neighbours and relatives as “unrealistic, overwhelming and beyond their capabilities” (Tonah, 2007; Kyei, 2013).

c. Bureaucracy and Ethics

The bureaucracy associated with obtaining public services and the poor work ethics of public and civil servants is another issue that frustrates many returnees. For some of them, everything seems to be ‘too bureaucratic’ in Ghana. They are frequently frustrated by the delays associated with obtaining services such as the registration of land, building permits, vehicle licensing, registering a business, obtaining water and electricity services. They are exasperated by the high level of bureaucracy and the frequent inability of public officials to take decisions and preferring instead to refer such decisions to a higher authority. There is also the problem of rivalry and competition between returnees, especially the highly skilled and professionals amongst them, and the local elite who run the administration in most public and private offices. Returnees who are professionals are often perceived by their local counterparts to be “arrogant and all-knowing” while the returnees also perceive local officials as being “obsequious, conservative, and lacking the drive” required for administrative level positions. Attempts by returnees to introduce changes at the work places are frequently met with resistance by both the leadership and the workforce, most of whom often prefer to maintain the status quo. Furthermore, many returnees are also worried about the poor work ethics and behaviour of most public workers in the cities as well as the absence of meritocracy in recruitment and promotions. They are impatient with the slow rhythm of life in general and the laid-back attitude of local residents, particularly public servants, to work. Returnees also have problems with the attitude of most residents to time. People are generally late to meetings and it is considered normal for meetings to start thirty minutes or an hour later than the advertised time. The situation is even worse with respect to social events such as funerals, weddings, church

services and family gatherings. These meetings start several hours late and would continue beyond the scheduled time. Returnees feel that life is very slow in Ghana and it takes so long to get things accomplished (Potter, 2005; Taylor, 2009; Kyei, 2013).

d. Excessive Religiosity

Some return migrants are also concerned about what they consider to be the 'excessive religiosity of many Ghanaian residents'. They are alarmed by the mushrooming number of churches in Ghana and the numerous 'prophets, pastors, bishops, and evangelists of all sorts who claim to have solutions to people's daily life problems such as illnesses, divorce, witchcraft and poverty'. Returnees are amazed about the ease with which religious explanations are provided as cure for all sorts of challenges in life and the impact of such attitudes on residents. Though they consider themselves to be religious, their experiences abroad, in largely secular environments, have shown them the importance and limits of religious explanations. It is difficult for some returnees to 'comprehend the irrationality associated with the number of hours Ghanaians spend in churches instead of engaging in productive activities, only for them thereafter to beg for alms'. Many are of the view that the driving force behind the religious excesses in Ghana is the lower opportunity cost of time in the country when compared to the industrialized countries where they just returned from (Setrana and Tonah, 2014).

1. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Though data on the exact figure of returnees to Ghana each year are not available, the literature examined in this chapter seem to suggest that the number of Ghanaians returning home after sojourning abroad remains low in comparison with the population living abroad. Furthermore, most of those returning to Ghana are coming on their own volition. Despite the frequent complaints about the brain drain and the need to encourage Ghanaians abroad, particularly the skilled ones, to return home, very few attempts have so far been made by the Ghanaian government and other non-governmental agencies to promote return migration. The few programmes undertaken by the government during the early 2000s to promote return migration were not sustained thereafter. There is therefore

the need for a consistently organised and well-funded programme if Ghana is to attract more of its citizens abroad to return home.

The broad range of literature reviewed in this chapter suggest that both individual and structural factors play an important role in the decision to return or not. While it is true that the sharp differences in the wage and other living conditions between Ghana and the foreign destination countries, particularly those in the developed world, continue to encourage many Ghanaians to seek greener pastures abroad (as postulated by the neo-classical theory), some residents go abroad with the intention of accumulating wealth, education, skills training and general life experience and hope to return to Ghana some time in the future (in line with the NELM theory). Nevertheless, anecdotal evidence suggests that the increases in the number of Ghanaians returning home since the mid-1990s can be largely explained by the relative stable political situation in the country following the return to multi-party democratic rule and the modest improvements in the economy and general infrastructural facilities in the country. This is more in line with the structuralist theory on return migration. The existence of peaceful conditions at home and improvements in the economy as well as available infrastructure provide the necessary conditions for individual migrants to consider the option of returning home, something many of them had ruled out during the period of economic decline and political instability in the 1970s and 80s. Of course, the question of when to return, will be influenced by several other factors peculiar to each migrant's situation.

Our findings also support the propositions of the transnational approach that suggest that advancement in technology and telecommunication aid migrants to plan their return through remittances and constant communication with home (Portes, 1999; Cassarino, 2007). On the question of the integration of return migrants into their home communities and the Ghanaian society in general, our findings indicate that migrants who maintained contacts with family and friends whilst abroad were generally better integrated upon return than those who did not. The study also shows that it is the negative attitudes of large sections of the population as well as the poor infrastructural facilities that prevent many return migrants from successfully reintegrating into their home communities.

Based on the above findings, the study makes the following policy recommendations:

First, the study indicates a lack of governmental initiatives to help return migrants adjust to the local context. There appears to be little information

that is easily accessible to migrants who want to return home on available opportunities, constraints and threats at home. Almost all return migrants claim to seek information regarding jobs, legal matters, social tensions or the security situation in Ghana from their family members and friends. Most of them are hardly aware of the existence of government incentives and programmes for return or the support of business ventures in Ghana. The chapter, therefore, recommends that policy makers and the government should develop a collaborative effort to institutionalise return programmes and policies. Governments of the country of residence of these migrants could be approached to support these endeavours.

In April 2015, the Ghana government approved a comprehensive and collaborative National Migration Policy (NMP) which seeks to manage the country's internal, inter-regional and international migration flows. The NMP makes provision for a number of interventions to solve migration problems in the country and seeks to protect the welfare of the over three million Ghanaians living abroad and control the inflow of illegal migrants into the country. It is expected that the policies and programmes implemented by the various governmental and non-governmental agencies will give priority to supporting Ghanaians abroad who wish to return home as well as assisting returnees to successfully reintegrate into their communities and workplaces.

Secondly, most initiatives such as those initiated by the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) program, the Dual Citizenship Act of 2002 by the Ghana government, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), and Development Partners aim to alleviate the economic obstacles that returnees face (Mazzucato, 2007; Kyei, 2013; Agyeman and Setrana, 2014). However, this chapter has also shown that returnees also face cultural difficulties. Return migrants often come to realize that they have to regain an understanding of how the local structures work at home and often face a period of adaptation due to prolonged time spent abroad during which a realistic picture of the home context may be lost. The local work culture and conventional methods of undertaking action, poor local working conditions, lack of adequate infrastructure and basic facilities and modern equipment, as well as a slow bureaucracy characterized by corruption, are some of the major factors that obstruct the return migrants' ability to induce change. These largely cultural conditions create tensions for migrants trying to introduce change. Attempts to introduce change sometimes cause difficulties or tensions with colleagues at the workplace.

For this reason, programs and policies facilitating return need to take into consideration the fact that the impact of returnees depend both on the efforts of the returning migrants, as well as on the attitude of residents at home. This could prevent local jealousies and the deterioration of the relationship between return migrants and non-migrants. The chapter recommends that the respective districts, municipal and metropolitan assemblies receiving these return migrants should be resourced both in terms of logistics and skilled personnel to be able to provide psychological and material support to returnees.

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PART 3:

**MIGRATION, TRANSNATIONALISM AND CHANG-
ING FAMILY AND GENDER RELATIONS.**

Chapter Nine

WOMEN ON THE MOVE: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF FEMALE MIGRATION IN GHANA

Mariama Awumbila and Gertrude Dzifah Torvikeh

Introduction

Migration has always been an integral part of global socio-economic processes. Movements of people searching for a better life, livelihood or refuge, or rushing to flee natural disasters, are as old as humankind. Whilst the vast majority of those who move today are still internal migrants (UNDP, 2009), international migrants are substantial, estimated at around 214 million people, an increase from an estimated 150 million in 2002 (IOM (2010). Despite the increase in absolute numbers, the share of international migrants in the world's population has however remained at around 3 percent over the past 50 years ((UNDESA, 2013). Although people have always moved, contemporary trends which have seen not only an acceleration of movements, but also a diversification, feminisation, and politicization of migration have led some migration researchers (Castles and Miller, 1993; 2009) to label the last two decades as the 'Age of Migration'

Women constitute a significant number of migrants across regions in the world. Statistics indicate that in 1960, 42.3% of immigrants in Africa were women, increasing to 49.6 in 2010 (IOM, 2010). Most African women migrate within the region, but they are also moving increasingly outside the continent. However although women's involvement in the migration process was identified by Ravenstein (1885, 1889), as far back as the late nineteenth century, little emphasis has been placed on female migration until the 1980s. In Africa, not only are the numbers of females migrating increasing, leading to what has been termed a "feminisation of migration" but female migration trends are taking place within a context of a myriad and complexity of factors. Recent studies indicate that gender can have a greater effect on experiences of migration than country of origin or destination, age, class, or culture (Boyd and Grieco, 2003). Migration can be empowering for women, providing new economic independence

and experiences, but at the same time, women face more dangers when migrating than men, and are more vulnerable to physical, sexual and verbal abuse. Once in the host country, women may suffer double discrimination, as both migrants and as women. If women and men are to benefit from the empowering and development potential of migration in Ghana, there is the need for a gendered approach to the discourse on migration.

This chapter provides an overview of trends in migratory flows focusing on how historical and contemporary socio-economic processes have propelled Ghanaian female migration. It also examines the current debates and discourses around female migration and its complexities and examines whether these have provided an opportunity for empowering women and for reducing gender inequalities.

The Feminisation of Migration: A Critique

One of the significant trends in migration in the last few decades has been the entry and participation of females in mobility streams that hitherto had been primarily male dominated. It is estimated that about half of the world's migrant population, made up of both internal and international migrants, is female (Zlotnik, 2003). Estimates from the UN Population Division indicates that the number of female migrants grew faster than the number of male migrants between 1965 and 1990 in the most important receiving countries, industrialised as well as developing (UNDESA, 2013).

As observed for most of West Africa, migration in Ghana is also becoming an increasingly female phenomenon. The traditional regional pattern of migration, which had been male-dominated is increasingly becoming feminized. Women now account for almost 50 per cent of Ghana's migrant population. The proportion of female migrants in Ghana increased from 41 percent in 1960 to 47 percent in 1990 (IOM, 2010). Furthermore a study on intra -regional labour migration patterns in West African Countries (Awumbila et al, 2014 a), indicates that women dominate short distance emigration to nearby countries, accounting for 64, 57 and 56 per cent respectively of Ghanaian emigrants in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo in the mid 2000's, and are often younger than male migrants. Furthermore while many females in times past accompanied or joined family members or spouses, increasingly, numbers of females now migrate independently to fulfil their economic needs. Some professional women are emigrating from Ghana leaving husbands behind to cater for their children. According to Adepoju (2005), women migrants are increasingly drawn to the wage

labour market, both formal and informal, as a survival strategy in response to deepening poverty in the sub-region. Thus the traditional male-dominated short-to-long-distance migratory streams in West Africa are increasingly becoming feminised.

These trends have led to the term "feminisation of migration" being commonly used in recent times to depict this phenomenon. However, several authors ((INSTRAW, 2007, Zlotnik, 2003) have argued that the term is misleading as it suggests an absolute increase in the proportion of women migrants, when in fact by 1960 women already made up nearly 47% of all international migrants, a percentage that increased by only two points during the following four decades, to about 49% at present (Zlotnik, 2003). It has been pointed out that this aggregate stability in the percentage of females moving hides trends at the regional level (UNDP, 2009). Nevertheless, even if in some regions female migration flows have increased, it has been argued that the real change of the last decades has occurred in the way females move, with more women now migrating independently in search of jobs, rather than as family dependents, travelling with their husbands or joining them abroad. A growing number of current studies (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003; Awumbila et al; 2014a) indicate that women in Ghana are moving independently of men as skilled and unskilled workers, entrepreneurs and traders. Professional women, especially female nurses and doctors, now increasingly engage in international migration often leaving their spouses at home to care for the children thus creating opportunities for gender role changes within the African family. However lack of sex disaggregated data on migration ensures that the dominant discourse still portrays women migrants in Ghana stereotypically as wives, mothers and daughters.

Although the earliest migration theory highlighted the gendered nature of migration, noting that women were more likely than men to migrate, and to do so within shorter distances compared to men (Ravenstein, 1885, 1889), it was not until the 1980s that a focus began to be placed on women and gender in the migration literature and discourse. Since then, the term "feminisation of migration" has become a buzzword connoting a variety of things, including the increased numbers of females in migration and the independence of such movements. Although figures are churned out to prove female migration is increasing, there are several contestations over the phenomenon. Some researchers argue that as far back as 1970, female migrants already made up 47% of the total population of international migrants and therefore there could be no justification for the feminisation

of migration considering the fact that only 2% increment has been made (INSTRAW, 2007). Others maintained that female migrants were not properly accounted for in terms of figures and therefore there is no basis to conclude a priori that migration has been feminised (Omelaniuk (2003). These arguments notwithstanding, the UNDP (2009) reported that the rate of female migration grew faster than male migration between 1965 and 1990 mostly in major receiving countries. The proportion of female migrants ranged from 52% in the global North to 43% in the global South in 2013 (UN-DESA, 2013).

Thus the discourse on female migration which seeks to suggest that there is a dramatic paradigm shift in gender ratios which has culminated in its feminisation has been hotly contested by many scholars. For instance, Villares-Varela (2013), argues that the paucity of information on women in migration before the 1980s was due to the absence of female researchers during the period rather than the absence of women in migration. She further argues that a feminisation of the scientific interest in the issues of gender and migration rather than a feminisation of migration flows has occurred.

While there have been earlier attempts to include women in migration research through the use of ‘add and stir’ and ‘women only’ approaches (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005), these were argued not to have appropriately accounted for the experiences of female migrants. While the former was a useful step to compare quantitative differential values for male and female migrants, the latter developed a deep portrayal of women’s lives. The ‘add and stir’ approach has been critiqued for its dearth on power relations and negotiations which could not be explained simply by the inclusion of women. Though the “women only” approach provided a deeper understanding of female migrants’ lives, it has been critiqued for running the risk of presenting a victimised image of immigrant women incapable of mobilising their own resources (Pickbourn, 2011; Boyd and Grieco, 2003). This approach then portrays female migrants as trafficked, exploited by migration agents and employers.

Hofmann and Buckley, (2013) argue that while frequently discussed, the feminization of migration remains among the least understood trends in migration literature. They further argue that while existing research links feminization of migration to socio-economic change in migrant origin countries, changes in destination-country labor markets, structural factors, and changing social attitudes, questions of how for example, the

feminization of migration begins and how it becomes socially institutionalized remain largely unanswered.

Thus scholars are increasingly beginning to argue that women have always participated in migration and that there has been a previous invisibility of women in research where traditionally, migration scholarship only dealt with women 'left behind' by their migrant husbands. This "invisibility" of women before the 1980s was not only due to the 'gender blindness' of researchers, but also to the lack of gender disaggregated data to make gender analysis possible.

Thus since the 1980s, migration theory has indeed become more gender sensitive, moving from the view of males as the predominant migrants and female migrants as simply the wives, to incorporating explanations of the unique experiences of women and men as migrants (Palmer, 1988; Yang, 2004), and recognising that migration impacts women and men differently. Thus migration studies since the 1990s is now characterized by the inclusion of new feminist approaches leading to the gender analysis of migration. Consequently, there has been a growth in the analysis of the gendering of migration patterns, as well as the intersection between migration trajectories, gender relations, ethnicity, class, etc. (Anthias, 2012). Despite this large body of scholarship, research offering consistent empirical measures on the feminisation of migration flows is scarce and usually the studies developed are focused on individual countries only (Villares-Varela, 2013).

Female Migration in Ghana: An Historical Overview

Migration of women in West Africa is not a novel process. Indeed, accounts of female migration in Africa indicates that while women in eastern, southern and central Africa were restricted in their movements, West African women were freer to move and they did so liberally. Researchers have long documented the movements of women in various parts of the West Africa region. During the colonial and post-colonial periods, for example, migrant women's roles in the cocoa industry was the subject of research. These studies identified women as associational migrants, who escaped exploitation from cocoa growing areas to establish themselves in cities on their own accounts (Hill, 1963; Grier, 1992; Tsikata, 1996). These studies identified female migrant labour as very crucial to the cocoa industry. Women either accompanied husbands, fathers or other male relations to the forest zones where cocoa production was booming (Hill, 1963) and served

as constant source of labour for their husbands, uncles and masters' cocoa farmlands. However, female out migration from the cocoa regions to urban areas was also prominent in the cocoa growing areas as a result of the falling of cocoa prices in the 1930s among other factors (Grier, 1992). Many of those who migrated to urban areas were employed in the informal sector as traders, care workers and in other service related jobs (Tsikata, 1996).

From the 1970s the dominant narrative changed from dependent female migrants to independent migrants linked to the economic crises of the 1970s and the resultant structural adjustment programme adopted in the 1980s. The period witnessed a dramatic migration of men and women to destinations outside the country. Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire remained the preferred destinations in the West Africa region for Ghanaian men and women. These studies highlighted the increasing trends in female independent international, intra -regional and internal migration in response to the economic crises (See Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003, Awumbila and Ardafo-Schandorf, 2008; Tsikata, 2006; Manuh, 1999; Wong, 2006; Abdul-Korah, 2007). Both 'browns and brains' migrated in search of greener pastures. However, the expulsion of about 1.5 million Ghanaians from Nigeria in the mid-1980s propelled the migration of Ghanaians to international destinations in Europe and North America.

Contemporary female migration trends has also seen an increase and diversification of women in cross border trade. Although commercial migration and cross border trade has been dominated by women for several decades, what is new in recent times has been the changing destinations of Ghanaian female migrants (see Darkwah, 2007 Awumbila et al., 2011). A recent study conducted by Agyei and Clottey (2007), indicated that most female migrants in the West region were commercial migrants. In Ghana, female traders have completely diversified their trading routes. China has increasingly become a major trading hub for females (Awumbila et al, 2011). Many traditional routes in Europe have either been totally overhauled or less frequented by the traders.

Gendered Dynamics of Contemporary Migration Patterns

This section discusses the dynamics of international, intra-regional and internal migration trajectories in the contemporary period in Ghana. Although seemingly gender neutral, we argue that these dynamics have taken on gendered dimension in contemporary times.

International Migration from Ghana: Gender Dimensions

The labour dynamics in Europe which demands female labour in the health and care economies resonated in many developing countries including Ghana. In response, there was a massive emigration of both skilled and unskilled female labour to destinations outside Ghana particularly in the last three decades. The health sector was particularly affected. Highly skilled professional women and men in Ghana's health sector were recruited to work in the industrialised countries. The emigration of different categories of health professionals which started as a trickle in the 1960s through to 1980s, increased drastically from the 1980s due to the harsh economic situation in the country. It is estimated that Ghana lost 50% of its nurses, to America, Canada and the UK by 2004 (Dovlo, 2004). Data from the Ministry of Health (MOH, 2005) indicated that out of 2,025 health professionals who left the country between 1999 and 2004, approximately 61% of them were nurses and midwives (Table 1). The figures quoted for all categories of health professionals could be conservative as health workers in private health institutions were unaccounted for in this data. Furthermore a study by Anarfi et al (2010) of the key determinants of emigration among health care workers in Ghana found that more women health care workers and nurses in particular were dissatisfied with their current jobs.

Table 9.1: Distribution of Ghanaian Health Professionals who Emigrated by Year and Profession

Profession	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Doctors	72	52	62	105	117	40	448
Pharmacists	49	24	58	84	95	30	340
Nurses and Midwives	215	207	235	246	252	82	1237

Ghana Ministry of Health, 2005

Though Ghanaian nurses and midwives are found in many countries, the United Kingdom and United States of America remains one of the favourite destinations for health professionals. According to the WHO (2007), 13% of Ghanaian nurses and midwives work in OECD countries. The immigration of Ghanaian trained nurses and midwives ballooned in six consecutive years and only dropped marginally in 2005 (Figure 1). The drop in 2005 has been attributed to the various policies formulated by

government to address the exodus of health professionals to countries in the West. Wage differentials and better working conditions are cited for the emigration of Ghanaian health professionals. For instance, in the US and the UK, the average monthly wage of a nurse was estimated at USD \$3,056 and \$2,576 respectively while the same group of professionals earned a paltry USD \$206 in Ghana (Dovlo, 2004). This explained why improvement in wages and general working conditions were the major reforms the health sector witnessed in the 2000s. Since the mid 2000s the emigration of both male and female health workers from Ghana has declined considerably (IOM, 2012).

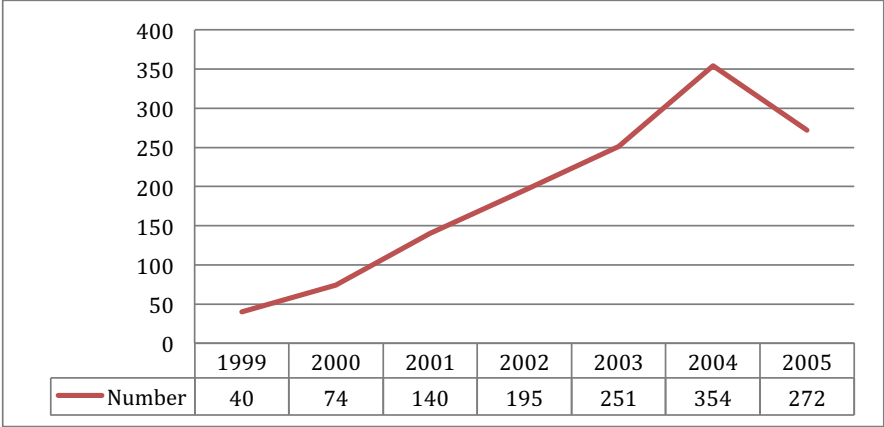


Figure 9.1: Ghanaian Trained Nurses and Midwives Registered in the UK (1999-2005)

Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2012) also shows that there are more female than male migrants in Europe, North and South America (Figure 2), lending credence to some form of a feminisation of labour in those destinations.

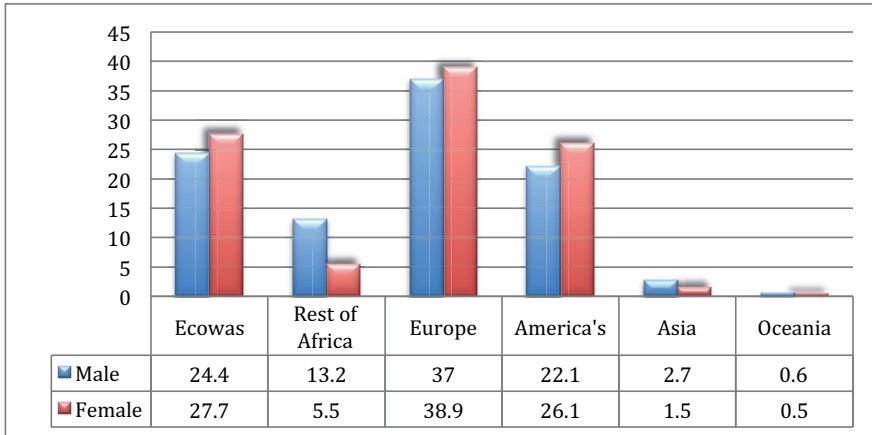


Figure 9. 2: Distribution of Ghanaian Emigration Destinations by Sex and Region

However the sex distribution of Ghanaians in some European countries is skewed towards men. Nonetheless, there is a steady increase of Ghanaian female migrants in many of these countries, particularly in Italy (Table 2).

Table 2: Sex Distribution of Ghanaians in Italy, Spain and Portugal (2009)

Country	Total	Men	Women	Sex Ratio
Italy	44 353	25 092	19 261	130.3
Spain	15 692	12 999	2 693	482.7
Portugal	197	141	56	251.8

Source: For Italy, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica - ISTAT (December 31th, 2009), for Portugal Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (2009) and for Spain Padrón Continuo, Instituto Nacional de Estadística – INE (January 1st, 2010).

The story is however different in the Netherlands where the number of Ghanaian women (10,756) slightly outnumbered men (10,620) in 2011. This difference could partially be explained by the immigration policy of the Netherlands which allowed for family reunification and formation. In 2011 for instance, family reunification remained the main reason for the Ghanaian female migration to the Netherlands (Figure 9.3)

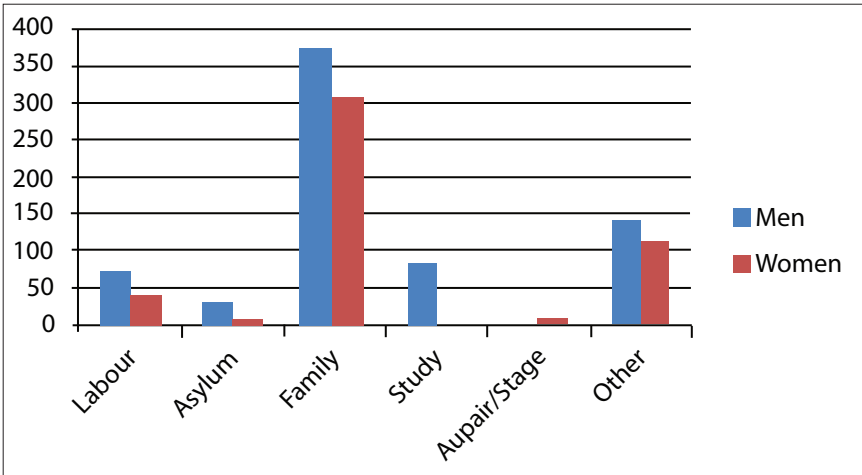


Figure 9.3: Reasons for Immigration by Sex (The Netherlands)
Source: UN, 2012

In the USA, 42% of Ghanaian immigrants in 2009 were females (McCabe, 2009). Apart from Ugandan female immigrants who formed 86.3% of sub Saharan African female immigrants in the USA's labour force, Ghanaian female immigrants came second (73.8%) among African immigrants in the USA's labour force (McCabe, 2011). Not surprisingly, many of the female immigrants participated in the services sector.

The economic crisis in the 1980s and the subsequent implementation of the structural adjustment programme (SAP) also led to the migration of different social classes of women in Ghana. The SAP period presented opportunities for traders who were mostly women, as the liberalisation of trade in 1985 among other factors, saw an unprecedented number of female traders moving to markets in the sub-region and to other continents for trading purposes (Clarke and Manuh, 1991). Indeed, in recent times, female traders in Ghana have become transnational in their activities, changing and diversifying their trading routes. China has become a major trading hub for transnational traders (Awumbila et al., 2011).

Gendered Intra-Regional Migration Patterns

Regional destinations are important migration hubs for many Ghanaians mainly as a result of economic crises of the 1980s. The majority of these emigrants were professionals such as teachers, lawyers, and administrators, some of whom were invited by countries such as Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria

and Zambia to assist with their national development after independence (Awusabo Asare et al., 2000). With the economic crises that Ghana went through in the 1980s to 1990s, and the improved economies of neighbouring African countries, many Ghanaians emigrated to West African countries, with women forming a major part of this stream of intra-regional migrants. Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria emerged as the dominant points of destination in the sub-region. Twum-Baah et al., (1995) recount that by the mid -1990s, women accounted for 64, 57 and 56 per cent respectively of Ghanaian emigrants in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo. Akyeampong (2000) documents how Ghanaian women who migrated to what is known in local parlance as 'Agege' (Nigeria), were perceived as prostitutes. During the same period, Anarfi (1989) found that many Ghanaian women resided in the cities of Cote d'Ivoire, where many engaged in commercial sex work. Indeed female migrants from the south-eastern Ghana, for a very long time accounted for a large chunk of commercial sex workers in Abidjan and they played a crucial role in sexual networking. The women were then blamed as the major sources of HIV in Ghana and in Cote d'Ivoire. Some women returned home sick and dying of HIV/AIDS (Anarfi, 1990). Many migrants also worked in the informal sectors such as selling cooked food, dress making, petty trading and hair dressing. The study found that while social networks helped with the migration of the women, the decision to migrate was individually and independently made. Education was not a major factor in their migration because language barrier was a common denominator to both educated and the uneducated in their quest to fully integrate in the Ivorian economy (Anarfi, 1990).

The migration of Ghanaian women to West African countries has continued as Figure 4 shows that almost two thirds of females had migrated to Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria in 2010.

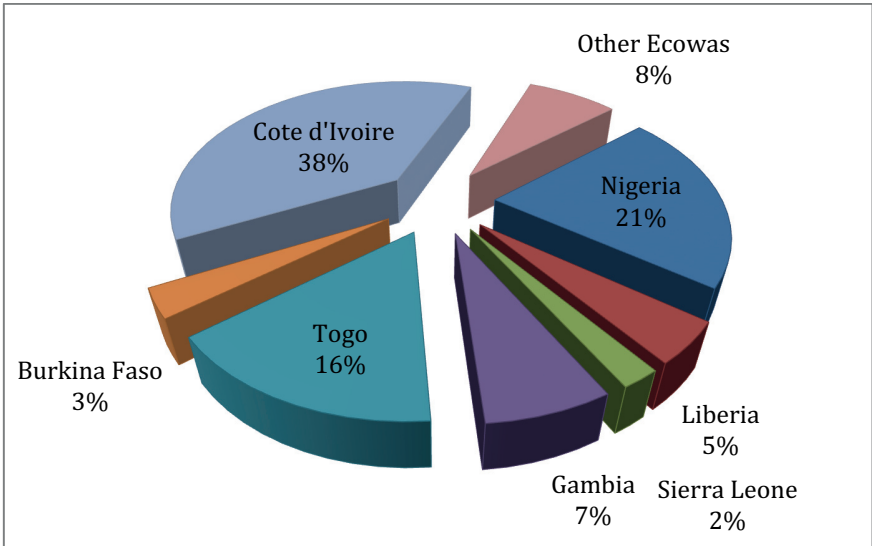


Figure 9.4: Emigration Destinations of Ghanaian Women within ECOWAS, 2010

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2012

Internal migration

While intra- regional and international migration became a coping response to the economic crises and subsequent SAP programme that Ghana went through in the 1980s and 1990s, internal migration also intensified as a coping strategy particularly for poorer households who could not afford the cost of international migration. A severe drought in the early 1980s compounded the crises for Ghanaians whose livelihoods were from agriculture. Consequently, families were pushed to find alternative livelihoods outside the traditional agrarian activities and the diversification of livelihood portfolios of households was very important during the period. Abdul-Korah (2011) argues that while many women in the southern regions migrated out of the country to neighbouring countries, women from the Northern territories took advantage of any available job in the south to migrate. They were mainly engaged in head portorage (*kayayei*) and domestic work in southern destinations (Abdul-Korah, 2011). A study by Appiah and Yeboah (2009) indicated that thirteen per cent of female migrant porters reporting that their migration was due to the retrenchment of their male breadwinners from the public sector.

In communities in the Upper West region, female migration to the south were linked to their quest not only to seek economic independence but also to flee from parental control (Abdul-Korah, 2007). The high numbers of women in the South as compared to the male migrants from the Upper West region during the 1980s and beyond was attributed to the impacts of the SAP and the unwillingness of male migrants to take on new jobs outside the mining sector which retrenched many of them. The women however took advantage of any available job including head portering (*kaayayei*).

Another significant internal migration stream is that of Tongu women. The massive out-migration of women in Tongu areas of the Volta Region in Ghana was attributed to the construction of the Akosombo and Kpong dams in 1966 and 1980 respectively. Ecological change occasioned by the Volta River Project affected river-based livelihoods of many people especially women in the downstream communities. The main economic activity of many women in the catchment area was clam picking. However, a few years after the commissioning of the projects, the dam became silted which caused a decline in the fish and clam stocks in the river. Women who were hitherto independent economically, had to migrate with their husbands and other male relations to upstream communities because they were economically disenfranchised. Due to this, their economic activities were altered because they had to reconstruct these to tie in with that of their husbands and other male kins. For instance many women processed their husbands catch while others worked as unpaid labourers on their husbands farms (Tsikata, 2006).

Similarly, female migrant labour was also important in the small scale and 'galamsey' mining sectors in the country. In the early 1990's, the discovery of gold in the Upper East region led to the influx of both male and female migrants from other regions who engaged in small scale surface mining (Awumbila and Tsikata, 2010). In recent times, many migrants women have engaged in illegal small scale mining across the country mainly due to deepening poverty.

Thus although the north to south migration flows are not new, recent economic policies and strategies have reinforced and accentuated the spatial inequalities which have fed this stream of migration (Songsore 2009, Aryeetey *et al*, 2009), with women being a major part of these internal and intra regional migration flows.

Female Migrants: Empowered or Disempowered?

The above discussion thus indicates that women are increasingly involved in international, intra-regional and internal migration in Ghana, as skilled and unskilled labour. Though there is no clear understanding of the impacts of migration on women, many researchers agree that migration can lead to greater gender equality and empowerment of women by providing women migrants with income and status, autonomy, freedom, and the self-esteem that comes with employment. Migration could provide some of these indicators of empowerment which might not be available to women prior to migration. Their exposure to more opportunities makes them more assertive which in effect can improve their full participation in society. Migration as an empowerment tool could therefore enhance individual choice and agency for female migrants (Omelaniuk, 2003).

Female migration bringing about a greater degree of autonomy for women could also lead to changing gender relations. In Canada, a study by Manuh (1999) highlights contestations between Ghanaian women and men in Toronto on different issues including control of resources and participation in household chores. Wong (2006) equally found that for some Ghanaian women in Canada, sending remittances to their homes in Ghana raised their status in the family back home and gave them recognition which hitherto was not the case. However, the quest to remit regularly put additional pressure on some women who are unable to upgrade themselves in order to get better and more secured jobs in the Canadian labour market.

In discussing the mutations of gender relations among Ghanaian migrants in Canada, Manuh (1999) further draws attention to a move to a more egalitarian relationship between men and women in the destination country in a way that has not been witnessed in Ghana. The study recounted several instances where female migrant's attempt to control their own assets and assert some autonomy brought tensions among couples in several instances. Modest gains were recorded for women as the following two quotations from male and female Ghanaian respondents respectively, summarised the changing gender relations and roles in the destination country. For men, they recounted that *'In Canada, men have become women and women have become men'* and for Ghanaian female migrants they often told their spouse and partners *'this place (Toronto) is not Ghana'* (Manuh, 1999). Women were said to be asserting their rights by the use of the Canadian Laws which helped them to achieve some autonomy.

However, despite the opportunities that migration offers for women, it also exposes them to multi-faceted vulnerabilities, including exclusion and exploitation, sexual abuse and human rights abuse. In particular, the participation of females in migration has led to the development of a labour niche for females often characterized by low wages, unfair labor practices and exploitation and exclusion of females from certain kinds of work (Oppong, 1997). A study by Awumbila et al (2016) finds that many migrant males and females find a niche in domestic work in large urban areas of Ghana. However they observe clear gendered patterns of employment in domestic work, with men having stronger agency to negotiate better conditions of work and remuneration. They argue that despite the heterogeneity and diversity of the work conditions and experiences of domestic workers in Accra, gender is an important factor mediating the experiences of both male and female domestic workers and their impacts on their wellbeing. Similarly many young females who migrate from northern to southern Ghana find a niche working as head porters (Kayayei) in markets in Accra and are exposed to exploitation and abuse (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Much of the vulnerability of women has been attributed to their lack of employable skills or to gender discriminations of employment.

Furthermore the increasing mobility of women for economic reasons and the creation of an industry ready for female migrants have resulted in other problematic forms of migration. The trafficking of women which has become a commercialised venture is increasing. Ghana has been identified as a country of destination, transit and origin of human trafficking. Many of these trafficked women and children are forced to work as commercial sex workers and as domestic workers. According to (USOMCT, 2006) trafficking occurring internally is more prevalent than transnational trafficking. Internally trafficked males and females are often exploited and forced to engage in fishing, domestic service, street hawking, begging, artisanal gold mining, farming and other demeaning jobs. The scheme is not different from those trafficked to regional and international destinations. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many Ghanaian women are trafficked to work in some gulf states such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Kuwait. Thus the impact of migration can become a double-edged sword.

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

The dynamics of female migration in Ghana has gone through various changes and in many instances these trends have intensified. The discussion

has shown that female migration has its specific features, which are sources of risks, but also opportunities. Thus a feminisation of migration, whether in terms of increasing numbers of females or the fact that women increasingly migrate independently from families and become the breadwinners of their family can have both positive and negative impacts on migrants themselves and their families. Autonomous female migration in Ghana will continue so far as the factors which triggered their migration endure. It is therefore imperative for government to focus policy attention on the phenomenon since it presents opportunities and challenges for the individual, family and the nation as a whole. Fortunately, the recently adopted national migration policy (Government of Ghana, 2016), which highlights gender as a cross cutting issue in Ghana's migration trajectory has the potential to address these challenges of female migration highlighted, but also of enhancing and harnessing the several opportunities that migration can bring to females and males.

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Chapter Ten

TRANSNATIONAL FOSTERAGE: THE EXPERIENCES OF THE SECOND GENERATION SENT BACK HOME TO GHANA BY GHANAIAN MIGRANT PARENTS IN LONDON

P. P. D Asima

Introduction

This chapter focuses on migrants and their children sent back home whose life experiences extend beyond one nation-state. Transnational studies have concentrated on adults, with limited investigations on young adults and children who participate in transnational social fields (Orellana et al. 2001, Pessar and Mahler, 2003). While in certain situations migrants leave their children behind (Parrenas, 2005), or sometimes the children are sent ahead abroad (Zhou, 1998), the primary focus of this chapter is on children who are sent back.

Migrant parents argue that their children's socialization in the host country is leading to 'dissonant acculturation' (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). The downward social mobility among immigrant groups of Latin American or Caribbean origin in the United States sometimes leads to their joining the underclass. The raising up of children across transnational social fields has been observed to lead to negotiations which reconfigure social relations of gender and generation among Mexicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Yemeni migrants to the United States of America (Thorne et al., 2003). Parrenas (2005:120) also found in the Philippines a breakup of the gender division of labour as a result of migration of fathers and mothers abroad, leading to social transformations with children experiencing 'emotional difficulties'. In some cases the problem of children ignoring family responsibilities and their cultural roots triggers parents to send their children back home, sometimes leading to the distancing of children from their parents. While the interest in the second generation is growing, the implications of fosterage of these children sent back home has not been adequately studied.

What is the level of involvement of children's participation in fosterage decisions and how do they cope with the changes in their family lives across transnational social fields? How does the transnational caring relationship influence family relationships across the countries of origin and destination, and with what implications for gender and intergenerational relations? The chapter examines the formation and character of transnational fosterage families looking at renegotiation and reorganization of the gender division of labour.

Theoretical Framework

A transnational social field has been defined by Itzigsohn et al. (1999:317) as "a field of social interactions and exchanges that transcend political and geographical boundaries of one nation and have become the relevant field of action". Transnational social fields consist of interactions linked across nation states, illustrated by the behaviour and organisation of the people involved in expressing their cultural values, sharing of ideas and exchanges, through and in the connections embedded in the socio-economic and political systems of the geographical boundaries. This concept is used to explain the transnational fostering relationships through the interactions in the field between migrants and their children sent home.

The discussion of transnational fosterage for Ghanaian children sent back home engages with two aspects of family care suggested by Ackers and Stalford namely, "caring about" and "caring for" (2004:130-131). Caring about involves contact and emotional support and is illustrated by "the frequency and nature or quality of contact" (Ackers and Stalford, 2004:131). It comprises emotional functions like providing comfort, communicating by phone, e-mails and visits, participation in decision making, and paying for care. Caring for includes instrumental functions and demands physical presence, since it deals with 'concrete "hands on" care ...more on a personal level' (Ackers and Stalford 2004:131). The provision and accomplishment of emotional and instrumental functions across national boundaries implies the regular or occasional participation in social contacts across national borders (Itzigsohn et al. 1999; Levitt 2001a). The chapter also examines acculturation gaps between migrant parents and young adults (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Directing the spotlight onto gender and generation and exploring transnational fosterage across geographical distances, is expected to reveal broader insights into transnationalism.

Research Methods and Study Area

Materials for this chapter draw from the author's larger study on Ghanaian migrants in London and from interviews conducted in London and Ghana. The materials include in-depth interviews and ethnographic fieldwork. The study adopted a qualitative research design relying on an inductive approach, to explore the field and build theory from data collected. This strategy was employed in order to understand the meanings and context of women and men and children's behaviour and explore their values, perceptions, attitudes and complex experiences. It offers the opportunity to listen to the participants and place them at the centre of the analysis, observing them in their own surroundings and emphasizing the gendered accounts of their everyday lives in such activities as care-giving. In London, in-depth interviews were conducted with 22 migrant parents of young adults sent back home. In urban southern Ghana, I interviewed 21 young adults, ranging from 12 -21 years.

As King et al. (1998:158) point out, the "real experts on migration are the migrants themselves". I applied a variation of what Marcus (1995:104-105) calls a multi-sited ethnography, designing the research along trails where a rational correlation "of variously situated subjects" will support and justify the study. Additionally, a matched sample approach was applied to highlight the two-way flow (Mazzucato, 2007). This gave an opportunity to assess how migrants negotiate gender relations across the transnational social space.

I chose London as my research site because, as noted by Twum-Baah et al. (1995), most Ghanaians at the initial period of emigration chose the UK because of colonial linkages. I selected the Borough of Haringey as my field site because of the concentration of Ghanaians there. I immersed myself in the Ghanaian community in London, listening to them and observing their daily lives. Using a multi-sited approach, I conducted fieldwork in Ghana (April - August, 2008) in four regions in urban Southern Ghana: Greater Accra, Brong-Ahafo, Western and Volta regions. These regions were chosen primarily because most participants encountered in London, for the first part of the fieldwork from September 2007 to April 2008 originated from these regions and their contacts were mostly resident there. The participant observation techniques used in London were replicated in urban southern Ghana. I also used snowball technique in urban southern Ghana through informal networks of friends and relatives. Further follow-ups were done in

London between September 2008 – November 2008, applying an ‘intensive research methodology’ (see Mazzucato, 2007). The participants were of a variety of social, educational and economic backgrounds. Their ages ranged from 26 to 61 years. The majority of the participants were married and in full, or part-time jobs.

With respect to transnational fosterage, the sample was purposely selected based on initial contact with parents who had sent their children to Ghana. Using these young adults and foster parents allowed me to investigate the networks from the two different sites across national borders. They were interviewed and observed in their foster homes and schools. Their guardians/parents first approved of the interview. During interviews with children, I ensured that they understood the essence of the project and had their consent. The interviews took place in a friendly atmosphere. Following on Mayall (2000), I acknowledged the power relations between adults and children and their status as migrant children. I adopted a triangulation approach, to understand the lived experiences and gender relations of participants.

Determinants of transnational fosterage

Most Ghanaian migrant parents in London send their children back to their home country to be looked after by relatives and friends for specific periods. Children sent to Ghana include mainly those born in London by migrant parents and those born in Ghana, who have arrived in London with age about 12 years or under. Fostering is a childcare strategy, and the practice is widespread in West Africa, including Ghana, for parents to send their children to live with other households (Goody, 1982; Pilon, 2003; Serra, 2009). This practice has been adapted by Ghanaian migrants to enable child raising activities to be carried out across national borders.

The migrants in the study mentioned that they expected their children to do better than them by climbing the class hierarchy. They also expected their children to display certain behavioural traits and values, such as staying away from drugs, having a positive sexual attitude, being disciplined, and avoiding gangs. Children who deviate from these traits and assimilate into British youth culture are regarded as failures in the Ghanaian community. To avoid their children being acculturated to ‘second generation decline’ (Gans, 1992) into a youth culture that leads to downward mobility, they choose transnational fostering. Parents therefore saw Ghana as an alternative socio-cultural space where they could raise their children. A 59-year-old

male respondent recounted his son's story: "He started messing around in the classroom and community... He started smoking all stuff, and joined a gang. ...He left the house for 2 years ... In 2007, he...came home. I deceived him and took him to Ghana... his character has changed though he is struggling to learn".

This type of story was widespread about the youth in London. Portes (2009:8) describes this situation as "segmented assimilation," in which many second-generation youths end up assimilating into the "lowest rungs of the host society". Among Ghanaians, transnational fosterage is an option to remove vulnerable children from this social space.

Apart from fear for their security and social mobility, one other consideration was for migrants' children to learn the Ghanaian cultural heritage and encounter the Ghanaian physical space. They explained that language was an important indicator of ethnic identity that facilitates the understanding of culture. The study found that this situation often led to some children being sent to Ghana.

Another major cause of fostering involves the marginalization of migrants as ethnic minorities in the labour market in London. Due to dislocations of class, race, and migration status, both Ghanaian parents usually have to work. This need undermines the performance of unpaid care in the home. Childcare has been commodified in London (McDowell et al., 2006), but most migrants cannot afford the costs involved. Unable to find time for childcare, they opt to send the children home to work and maximise their incomes. This shows the interrelationship between earning and caring. Immigration legislation and policy also affects care provision. Most migrants are also unable to utilise kin support from the home country to provide childcare. Some parents also thought that the children's confinement in their rooms (especially during winter) was damaging for the child's development. Therefore, the child's well-being and health was justification to send them home for extended family members to provide commensurate care.

This study further observed that to promote their security in old age and informally insure themselves, some parents send children to Ghana to make them conscious of their responsibility towards them, their kin, and relatives. Boys are also sometimes sent to Ghana for circumcision because some parents thought it would be better done in Ghana. Some children were sent to Ghana because of family crisis, such as divorce and death. Grandparents also requested to see their grandchildren so parents sent the children to stay with them for some time.

The study found that the children are sometimes consulted, but in other cases they are compelled or deceived and sent to Ghana. Children sent as babies did not have a say. Another method adopted was to send them for holidays and then parents would refuse to return with them to London. Alternatively, they sent the children with relatives or friends who were travelling on holidays to Ghana. Some foster parents were also sometimes invited to London and after the child(ren) have been weaned and become familiar with their future foster parent, they were then sent with them to Ghana.

Parents believed they had a duty to raise children to achieve certain desired outcomes, and therefore derogated to themselves the function of acting in the 'child's interest' depending on their views of what was safe, appropriate, possible, or good for their children. Though women were empowered abroad, significantly, they did not have the time to nurture their children.

However not all migrants send their children to Ghana. Some do not because they lack the requisite social capital and networks in Ghana, or they want the children to qualify for legal status overtime. Yet, others thought that they should raise their own children to be able to develop emotional attachment to them. However, throughout the life course of most families one or the other child is sent back to Ghana, based on one or more of the determinants described above. While fosterage has been practiced in Ghana over time, it has now become a transnational phenomenon.

Decision-making and living arrangements

Men and women negotiate over gender divisions of labour and where women decline to perform 'double shift,' subsequently the child(ren) must be sent to Ghana. It was normally women who disagreed on the final decision. While most women were desirous of looking after their own children abroad, they eventually gave in to be able to make some money and then look after their children back home, while at the same time fulfilling their responsibilities back home to their kin who also benefit from their remittances. The study found out that most men normally do not have any problem with the children being sent to Ghana.

In making the fosterage decision, the primary consideration is that social and family networks are available in Ghana to host the child(ren). Additionally, the child's welfare and well-being are paramount. Usually, because Ghanaian ethnic groups are "embedded in webs of personal

relationships”, they are able to find foster parents (Griffiths, 1995 quoted from Reynolds and Zontini 2006:5). The inclination is towards sending them directly to their mothers (child’s grandmother), or maternal or paternal sisters, women having preference over men. If it is necessary to send the child(ren) to a man, most parents ensure that there is a woman in the house who will nurture and provide ‘hands on’ personal care for the child. Gender therefore crosscuts the fosterage decision.

The decision by the sending household is made in view of what I term ‘exogenous’ and ‘endogenous’ factors. The exogenous factors include influences beyond the control of the foster parent: such as the residence of the kin relation; infrastructure; availability of schools in the locality; the ability to transfer money conveniently, and means of communication. The endogenous factors concern the foster parent: his/her temperament; a loving and caring nature; gender; education; age; whether in employment, and the person’s experience of having or looking after children of his/her own. The essence is to ensure the all-round development of the child. Most of the fostering agreements are only verbal based on mutual understanding, trust and reciprocity. As a 59-year-old female foster parent noted, “My sister’s child is my child so I am happy that they are with me”. Ghanaian foster children mostly live in homes with other family members such as aunties, uncles and grandparents around them, benefitting from social networks of support and control. A 47 year old male foster parent explained that; “The whole matter was personally broached by me to my wife, because he was giving problems to my sister-in-law in London So I said they should bring him so that we straighten him up”.

Long distance parenthood

Caring work for children requires physical and emotional support, so familial responsibilities are renegotiated in transnational families. Due to the geographical distance parents can only perform ‘caring about’ roles. They send funds for others to provide the ‘caring for’ roles.

One means of maintaining transnational caring relationships across the social field is visiting the foster children in Ghana. Parents tried to visit their children in Ghana at least once a year. It was mostly the men who travelled for this function. Where the parents have more than a child, some parents negotiated that the women should remain behind and look after the other siblings. Because most men have power and control over family

finances and also mostly supervise ongoing family projects in Ghana, they take advantage to visit. Unfortunately, parents who have illegal status have no option to travel to see their children. Gender norms mediate the level of interaction of parents with children, and most men hold advantaged positions with regard to this transnational practice.

Remittances are another major form of the 'caring about' function that parents are involved in. The cost of maintaining the child in Ghana is normally shared. Depending on the family financial arrangements, it was noted that in a few relationships still governed by patriarchal norms, the women may provide funds but the man typically sends most of the money for school fees and major household expenditure. They send it monthly, quarterly or thrice a year, at Christmas, Easter holidays and in August when the academic year is about to begin. Negotiations held between sending and receiving households determine how much should be sent periodically. The financial remittances are used for material care such as food, education, health, transport to school and other incidental expenditure. The regularity of provision of financial and material resources sustains the transnational existence and reduces the physical distance between parents and their children. The sending of remittances is gendered, therefore even where some of the women contribute, the money was sent in some cases in the name of the man, considered the 'breadwinner', causing the woman's contributions to be subsumed under those of the man, who gained all the social recognition that accrues to the 'provider'. Some women mentioned that they wished their contributions were acknowledged.

Communication keeps the transnational links alive ensuring maintenance of the bonds that define transnational families. Participants informed me they tried to 'always keep in touch' to shape transnational intimacy. Transnational communication employs various media on a day-to-day basis. True to gender relations and ideologies, this is a core transnational practice for the majority of women, who called frequently providing emotional security to children. Power relations favoured parents, who decided when and how often to call the 'disadvantaged' children sent home. Though communication enabled the maintenance of personal contacts, the daily routine of intimacy could not be fully achieved over spatial distance.

Parents who sent the children back home sometimes missed them. The pain of separation and dislocation was openly shown mostly by women. Field observations and informal interactions demonstrated that most women felt regret and concern while many men put on an air of masculine

strength to hide their pain. Parents also had difficulties with the siblings in London who always asked about their sibling(s).

Parents continue to play an active part in the socialisation process and communicate with children on the value of education and discipline and the need for them (children) to work hard and move upward socially. The study identified that men largely continued, based on the gender norm which considers the man as the disciplinarian of the family, to provide moral care and instil discipline in their children.

The findings on long-distance parenting show that caring activities are gendered, as most women and men consciously or unconsciously exhibit preferred gender roles. Gender mediates long-distance parenting as negotiations are held to determine who visits the child(ren) sent back home, sends remittances, and provides emotional support. This statement by a 48-year-old female respondent confirms, “I find it difficult to sleep if I have not talked to my boy for three days. I need to know if he went to school, what he ate, if he is generally okay”. There was generally a positive feeling that fostering out is useful to a child, leading to a disciplined life, the development of ethnic identity, and the ability to cope with the stresses of discrimination. A 50 year old male respondent said that; “I sent him to Ghana because he had become indisciplined and was unwilling to appreciate that we come from a different society. Therefore anytime I call though he is with my brother, I remind him of my expectations for him as a boy. As a father this is my duty, though the family are assisting me”.

Growing up in transnational families

This section explores familial relations and arrangements in transnational fosterage from the perspective of young adult children's interpretations of transnational family life. In some cases the children are not acculturating to the expectations of the parents. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) refer to this as ‘generational dissonance’. In such situations, the interrelationships between patriarchal gender ideologies, structural factors (dislocations) and intergenerational differences coalesce to influence the fosterage decision. Where the social space could not provide a conducive atmosphere for the child's development; for instance, where both parents are doing two jobs, which undermines care provision for children, a decision has to be made because such children are likely to experience downward assimilation and the parents' desire for ‘intergenerational social mobility’ (Portes and Zhou 1993:83) would be jeopardised.

The young adults confirmed the determinants of the fosterage decision as stated earlier. Having lived for some time abroad, settling down is a major problem and it appeared easier for boys than girls to settle down. According to the children they are socialised into gender specific roles within the households, by chores that they perform. For instance, foster parents request boys to take charge of the house. Girls however learn domestic skills to become homemakers and look after their siblings. Since some of the girls were not performing these chores in London, they found it tough.

Other factors such as the food, and their personal relationships affect their ability to settle down as they need to nurture new friendships. The fact that they did not know certain aspects of Ghanaian culture, and their Londoner accent became a predicament for them. The young adults confirmed that their parents called them through their foster parents though most felt it was not as often as they wished. Their inability to call, especially due to insufficient funds, strains intergenerational relations and shows the 'power-geometry' (Massey, 1994) inherent in the transnational social fields. They also received parcels through the door-to-door services from London. They were embedded in the transnational social field and demonstrating 'ways of being' through their transnational practices (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004:1010).

Majority of the young adults attributed their success in the education system to the boarding schools which some of them were attending. The boarding schools taught them vital life skills so that by the time they complete they will know the rudiments of life, including tidying up themselves by washing, ironing, scrubbing and others. All the sent-back children confirmed that discipline is more emphasised in Ghana than in London, and foster parents make it a point to constantly remind them to be disciplined. Though they liked London, in terms of discipline, they thought Ghana was better. According to them, too many children were 'freewheelers' in London, and did not act responsibly. They agreed that though some parents in London tried, they could not go far enough due to restraints from Social Services and the Police. According to them, in London if you were tired in class and you felt you have had enough you could just get up and leave the class.

On the other hand, some found the discipline too stern. In London they explained that you would be grounded and not go out or visit friends. Your pocket money could also be reduced for misbehaviour. Some preferred it to weeding but also agreed it was less effective. While they agreed that it was

a good thing and had straightened them up, they also thought that it was sometimes overused. For instance, the whole class being punished for one person's misbehaviour. Paradoxically, several of the children mentioned that they will pursue this strategy in future as this statement from a 16-year-old male respondent illustrates; 'They are good at advising you to behave and be a responsible person. If I become a parent in London and have the opportunity I would bring up my children here before sending them back to London'.

This seems to refute the assumption that transnational child care is ephemeral and does not continue beyond the first generation. Most of the young people said that relocating to urban southern Ghana had made an impact on their lives. They indicated that they would advise their friends when they go back to London. They believed their parents would be proud of them because they would be more respectful, thoughtful and helpful at home. They blamed their lack of seriousness in London to computer games and the fact that they were not actually bothered. It is worth mentioning that not all ethnic minorities in London performed badly in schools. Wilson et al. (2006) show that Indian and Chinese ethnic students perform better than their white contemporaries.

To provide a more robust understanding of transnational fosterage, it was essential to listen to the children's views. Additionally, I observed interactions and employed informal conversations with teachers and foster parents who substantiated that these children had adjusted in behaviour from when they first arrived from London. Majority of the fostered children explained that they had learnt a lot of things about Ghanaian culture: not to talk back to people, not to use the left hand when giving or receiving items, to work hard, not to swear and the importance of their family. Most of the children argued that they could speak the language fluently and embraced a sense of belonging and pride in their ethnic identity. They explained that whatever they do outside the home would affect their families' reputation.

The young adults argued that they are dual nationals but Ghanaians first. Most of the young adults therefore saw their sending back as an opportunity to build bonds with their extended families and 'home' youth. They stated ironically that when 'I am in Ghana, I miss London and when I get to London, I miss Ghana'. These observations reinforced the contention of this chapter that transnational practices may not disappear, but may be sustained by the second generation. Echoing Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004:1011), I argue that these second generation Ghanaian children,

through their presence in Ghana, have engaged in transnational ways of being and identified with a way of belonging which suggests that they are likely to act in a transnational way in the future.

They said they were stunned that Ghanaians also called them 'obroni' - meaning white person -because of their accent. While transnationalism offered them the opportunity to belong it also showed difference. They stated that they are considered as the 'other' in London and therefore they needed to find a sense of their ethnic belonging and their parents always reminded them to negotiate this tension. Being aware of their phenotypical characteristics, that they are black, they do not pretend to be British but accept that identity on the basis that it provides them opportunities as 'dual citizens'.

The study found that the pain of separation affected most foster children, who were constantly concerned about their parents and siblings and this caused some to be psychologically distraught. The inability of foster children to interact regularly with their parents physically impacted intergenerational relations. While generally, parents thought they were doing their best through transnational communication and visits, some of the children thought otherwise. Those whose parents visit frequently confirm that there is more bonding between them and their parents.

Despite efforts by parents to cater for their siblings in Ghana across the transnational social space, there are intergenerational differences. A major point of contention is that they do not see why parents failed to instil discipline in them back in London. Others also believe that learning Ghanaian culture should not be restricted to returning to Ghana. Though most of them preferred Ghana so far as discipline and culture was concerned, most thought they had had enough so they should be allowed to go back to London. Orellana et al. (2001) have argued that 'growing up' and 'raising' a child develops into a complex process when the adult - child relations become embedded in the transnational social fields.

Some parents confirm that changes do occur and therefore they think fostering is in the interest of the children and young adults and has benefits. Many of the young adults interviewed saw the relocation as a worthwhile exercise, though a few did not see it as transformatory. The contention of the few was that, 'there is no guarantee that when they go back they will turn out better'. The empirical evidence did not support this. To avoid generational conflicts however there is a need for them to prepare the children's mind before they are sent.

Conclusion

A major concern for researchers in transnationalism has been the durability of the transnational phenomenon and whether it will be carried forward by the second and subsequent generations (Levitt and Waters, 2002). While a consensus is yet to be reached, I argue that the child fostering activities of Ghanaian migrants across geographical distances potentially contributes to rethinking this debate. This is because transnational fostering could impact positively on the durability of transnational practices and its sustainability over time and space, by opening up the possibility for second and subsequent generations to participate in activities spanning national borders.

The chapter has shown how transnational fosterage relationships function in migrant families and kinship networks, taking note of their home and transnational activities. The transnational perspective is a heuristic tool for understanding the embeddedness of migrant families in a web of relationships, interconnected with kin networks across temporal and spatial distances. The decision to foster children is based on factors including the challenges migrants face due to inequalities and dislocations in the host country (Middleton et al., 2005, Clark and Drinkwater, 2007). The inability to renegotiate patriarchal gender roles also triggers the strategic adoption of transnational fostering with kinship members in the home country while they concentrate on the labour market abroad. The fostering process reorganises and transforms ideas, services, practices and resources through transnational social fields to help to “reinforce self-images and collective solidarities”, (Portes 1999:472), preparing the second generation to self cope with the complex, ‘hostile’ and difficult host social environment.

Majority of the young adults in this study confirm that, despite emotional insecurities of being fostered, they have developed ‘weapons’ (social values and behavioural standards) in Ghana with which to ‘battle’ their return to forestall downward assimilation and gain social mobility in London. Transnationalism therefore seems to become a means to successful incorporation; the approach I term the ‘segmented transnational strategy’ may enable young adults to acculturate and withdraw from youth cultures, underclass and strive for upward mobility when they return. A more longitudinal study may substantiate this point. Future research could investigate and also evaluate the second generation who have returned to London to ascertain the impact on their lives through their level of assimilation and social mobility.

The findings contradict the assertion of scholars such as Kivisto (2001) and Haller and Landolt (2005) who question the sustainability of bifocality by the second generation. In so far as the difficult conditions of the destination country's labour market constrain migrants from performing the gender division of labour and migrants continue to be disadvantaged into a downward spiral as a minority; they will seek redemption from their origin countries, where they hope to find the "spiritual resources" (Portes 1999:472) to bring up their children with a more positive outlook on life. My findings support the observation by Faist (2000:201) that transnational activities should be 'seen in the context of generational succession' and I conclude that those who have experienced a transnational way of being may exploit it in the future (Vertovec, 2004).

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Chapter Eleven

PATRIACHAL NORMS IN REVERSE REMITTANCE BEHAVIOUR AMONG GHANAIAI TRANSNATIONAL COUPLES

Geraldine Asiwome Adiku and Alhassan Sulemana Anamzoya

Introduction

Ordinarily, migration is seen as a survival strategy mainly because of the remittances that migrants send back home. Remittances complement the income of households, pushing up their standards of living (Conway, 1994). Remittances often include money and goods that migrants send to their relatives in the country of origin. Some scholars have described remittances as repayment of the principal invested by the family on the migrant's education. The higher the educational investment, the higher the relatives' expectations of being repaid through remittances (Van Dalen et al., 2005; Bukasa, 2010). In his study using data on Mexican male migrants to the United States, Sana (2005) pointed out that migrant remittances have enabled some poor families to convince at least one member of their family to migrate so they can benefit from the money that family member will remit. These remittances, Sana (2005) noted, has made it possible for the households to accrue capital and meet their basic consumptive needs.

It is in this light that scholars have seen remittances as contributing significantly to the development of many third world societies. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) for example noted that migrant remittances worldwide reached 68 billion dollars in 2001; of this amount 83% went to developing countries (International Monetary Fund, 2002). Airola (2007) and other recent studies have also indicated that international remittances 'exceed US\$100 billion per year, approximately twice the amount of official aid-related income to developing countries' (p. 850). Airola's assertion was confirmed by the World Bank in 2012 which estimated that remittances received by less developed countries reached 372 billion dollars in 2011 an increase of 12.1% over the 2010 figure. The World Bank has further

estimated migrant remittances to rise to about \$515 billion in 2015 and \$540 billion by 2016. These show that remittances flow to the developing world is growing.

However, remittances to Africa constitute a small percentage of global remittance flows. Official estimates from the World Bank suggest that annual remittance to Sub Saharan African (SSA) accounted for \$31 billion in 2012 representing 0.1% growth rate and are projected to rise to \$41 billion in 2016 (World Bank, 2014). Despite the meagre flow of remittances to the continent, they are important for development. For instance, in Ghana, the importance of remittances cannot be belittled. The Bank of Ghana appraised that remittances to Ghana increased from \$ 1.8 billion in 2012 to \$ 1.97 billion in 2013. Research has shown that remittances to Ghana have a direct impact on the livelihood of households since they contribute to domestic capital accumulation and improvement in educational outcomes (Quartey, 2006).

Remittance literature can be grouped into two; macro and micro level remittance literature. Some of the macro-level studies on remittances deal with representative statistics that show how much money countries receive and how that contributes to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country (Massey, Goldring and Durand, 1994; Durand, Massey and Parrado, 1996; Quartey, 2009). At the micro level, studies have shown how households in transnational arrangements use remittances for basic needs like food, clothing, and medicines among others which are essential for the subsistence of families (Heymann et al., 2009, Awumbila et al., 2013).

Apart from using remittances to purchase basic survival needs, other scholars have also noted that it serves as a means of accruing capital in transnational arrangements. Research by Conway and Glesne (1986) among underprivileged households in St. Vincent found that remittances were simply one source of capital among numerous other means of acquiring income. Conway and Glesne (1986) indicated that women and ageing family members saved remittances they received in banks for themselves and their children. They continued to argue that recipients of remittances, who had other more consistent sources of income, benefitted more from remittances. These authors noted that migrant relatives could either save or invest remittances in the acquisition of plots of land or enter into small enterprises such as farming.

While so far we have seen the benefits of remittances, some literature have however suggested that remittances have negative implications for

transnational arrangements. Chami et al (2005), utilising data from 113 developing countries showed that remittances encourage dependent relationship among relatives which in turn inhibits economic development. Also, some studies have shown that remittances might have some problematic impacts which include deepening inequality in migrant origin countries (Weist, 1984; Carling, 2007). It is generally not the poorest people who migrate so remittances accrue to the relatively wealthy. This is because migration involves the mobilisation and use of some amount of resources (Skeldon, 1997) which the poor can hardly afford.

The attention remittances have received has ignored an equally important phenomenon; reverse remittances. Reverse remittance has been conceptualised as a practice where family members and friends in the home country provide services, send goods and/or money to their migrant relatives abroad (Mazzucato, 2011). Chee (2005), studying Taiwanese transnational families indicated that husbands in Taiwan send money to their wives and children in the United States of America. The money sent was for the upkeep of the children, especially for their education (Chee, 2005). This according to Chee's respondents was important because the primary reason for the emigration of their spouses and children was for their children to get quality education in the United States of America.

In Ghana, some studies of reverse remittance highlight the prevalence of this practice among low-skilled, undocumented migrant workers in the Netherlands and their relatives in Ghana. Mazzucato (2011) notes that reverse remittance are primarily in the form of services rendered to migrants abroad, for instance to acquire appropriate documents to regularise their residency status in a context of stringent migration policies. Mazzucato (2011) in describing the Ghanaian situation mentioned that: "reverse remittance is that remittance flow from home communities to migrants abroad" (p.454). Her focus, however, was on reverse remittances mainly as services rendered by relatives in Ghana to family members who have migrated. These services include child care, businesses and household investments and services rendered by family members in Ghana to legalise the stay of the migrants abroad. What we do in this paper is to expand the conceptualisation of reverse remittances to include not only money which Mazzucato did not highlight in her analysis but more importantly, what reverse remittances mean to some Ghanaian men who still want to dominate their wives and children. Thus, this chapter takes patriarchy as its theoretical grounding.

Theoretical Perspective

Kandiyoti (1988) observed that of all the concepts generated by contemporary feminist theory, patriarchy is probable the most overused and, in some respects, the most under theorised. All significant societies were clearly patriarchal with no single exception (Therborn, 2004). Walby (1990) has explained the patriarchal concept as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. The use of the term social structures is important here, since it clearly implies rejection both of biological determinism, and the notion that every individual man is in a dominant position and every woman in a subordinate one. Since the early twentieth century, feminist writers have used the term patriarchy as a concept to refer to the social system of masculine domination over women. Eventually, there emerged two major conceptualisations revealed in literature that feminist theories have given to patriarchy: patriarchy as a male dominance, characteristics of a society and patriarchy as an autonomous system (Fox, 2008).

The concepts of masculinity and femininity are closely related (though not interchangeably) patriarchal and are used to explain the differences between men and women. Some argue that these differences are biological while others emphasise that they are socially constructed. Patriarchy is thus the rule of the father over all women in the family and also over younger socially and economically subordinate males. The patriarch is typically a societal elder who has legitimate power over others in the social unit which can be a family, a lineage, chiefdom, or kingdom. (Connel, 1995, cited in Perra and Ruspini 2013) argued that masculinity is a social construction and concerns the position given in a gender order. Thus, any theorisation about gender introduces the notion or idea of performance of gender in terms of masculinity and femininity. And performance of gender becomes involuntary as gender gets internalised through the socialisation process within the dominant discourses of patriarchy. In the dominant discourse of patriarchy, certain roles are reserved for men and women and these roles are defined largely by social constructs than individuals' biological make ups.

Having acknowledged that patriarchy connotes roles closely related to power relations, and that it is a term that invokes conception of male dominance (Kandiyoti 1988), we use patriarchy in this paper not only to analyse power relations in gender, but more significantly, to explain how some Ghanaian men, based on their patriarchal orientation will prefer not

to receive remittances from their wives even when they dearly need the assistance with the excuse that such actions will reduce their respect in their relationship with their spouses in which they still want to maintain a dominant position. This, admittedly, is about relations. Besides, the utilization of patriarchy in this context also enables us to understand why some Ghanaian migrant men send remittances to their wives back home.

Research Context

This chapter is an extension of a larger research which investigated the coping strategies of Ghanaian couples in transnational family arrangements. Non probability sampling method was employed to select the sample for the research, using snowball sampling techniques. The snowball technique was especially useful because it enabled trust to be built since we were introduced to them by their friends and relatives.

Using semi-structured interviews, we spoke to 30 participants whose spouses were outside Ghana. Since we only spoke to spouses who have been left behind, a limitation of the study is that we do not have the perspective and insight of their partners who have migrated. However, we engaged in in-depth and detailed account of the lives of the couples in transnational arrangements in Accra, paying particular attention to remittances, reverse remittances and how patriarchy plays a dominant role in men's unwillingness to receive remittances from their wives even when they were in dire need of it, and on the other hand, men engaging in reverse remittances with their migrant wives even though these wives had good jobs in their countries of destination. Thus, in selecting our participants, we considered people who had their spouses outside the borders of Ghana.

All the interviews were conducted at participants' home or office or public place after appointments had been made and confirmed with them at their own conveniences. With permission from the participants interviews were recorded, there were however, two participants who refused to be recorded, and notes were taken down. All but one of the interviews was conducted in English. The only interview conducted in Twi was because that participant could not express herself well in English and was more comfortable with the Akan language. The data collection period started in October 2011 and ended in January 2012. All interviews which ranged from forty-five minutes to one hour thirty minutes were collected and then analysed manually.

Findings

The data revealed among other things that remittances formed part of the reciprocal social exchange that exists between migrants and their relatives because they served as the oil which greased the wheels of transnational family arrangements. Within such family arrangements, this research shows how resources are pulled together in transnational arrangement, but more importantly, it highlights the fact that whilst some aspects of social arrangements are more resilient to change, others such as patriarchal values are less amenable to change.

We agree with Levitt and Schiller (2004) that increasingly the experiences of individuals can no longer be understood within the context of nation states. Indeed, experiences of migrants and their relation with their spouses, can be further understood within smaller social units such as the marriage and family institution within which the man's continuous determination to maintain authority over his wife and children explain his behaviour in a transnational family arrangement.

Remittances in transnational family arrangements

Studies emphasising the relationship between migrants and their country of origin, particularly those addressing the link between migration and development, have underscored remittances as an important aspect of this connection (de Haas, 2006; Ghosh, 2006). These studies indicate that that remittance in the form of money, which moves from the global North to the global South contributes significantly to the socio-economic development of the former (Quartey & Blankson, 2004; Quartey, 2006; Tonah, 2007). Some recent research findings indicate that migration generally is an avenue through which people move out of poverty (Awumbila et al., 2013).

Our research reveals that husbands abroad send money to their wives in Ghana. This conforms with the remittance literature which suggests the money moves from migrants abroad to their relatives in the home country (Carling, 2007; Ratha, 2013). However, another rationale for husbands abroad sending money to their wives in Ghana is that they see it as their responsibility to cater for their wives. The main reason for migrating among our respondents was economic. Most of the spouses migrated in search of better jobs so they can look after their families back home. Kukua³, a forty year old female respondent who has been married for thirteen years

3 All names used in the study are pseudonyms

and whose husband has been away for eight years, for example, mentioned that her husband when he was in Ghana had a good job. Unfortunately, he was laid off due to some problems with the organization where he worked. She indicated that her husband felt he could not get a job in Ghana which would be as good as the one he had before. She said her husband felt that if he migrated instead he could get a better job, earn more money for himself and the rest of the family. He therefore applied and obtained a visa to the United States of America where he works with a newspaper company. This job according to her pays well and they are more comfortable financially.

Implicit in the above scenario is a man's desire to care for his family. He could have gotten another job in Ghana but this job he reckoned would not have paid well enough for him to look after his family and therefore still remain in charge as head of the family. Looking for another job abroad, can be seen as an alternative to better wages, hence ability to provide financially for his family and still be seen as man of the house. This can be explained by the deeply enshrined gender roles in Ghana which makes it men's responsibility to take care of their wives (Nukunya, 2003).

This study also shows that majority of the women respondents who received money from their husbands overseas did not send money to their husbands abroad. Some of them even thought it absurd that such a question should be asked. To the question, do you send money to your husband? One woman's response was 'why should I? He is my husband; he is supposed to send me money'. This woman believes that it is her husband's responsibility to provide for her and take care of her economically, therefore the notion of sending money to her husband abroad seems alien to her. Her response implies that a woman is not supposed to send money to her husband who is living abroad.

However, there was one woman who mentioned that from time to time she used to send her husband money as a sign of her love for him but later started buying her gifts in place of money. Mansa, 34, whose husband has been abroad for 10 years, mentioned that, 'if he [her husband] is here with you sometimes you also buy something for him or you give him something to show some sort of appreciation or love so I buy some items and send to him instead of money which is symbolic'. Her husband on the other hand, keeps sending her money occasionally. According to her, this symbolic exchange especially from her to the husband helps to keep their relationship alive.

The contrasting examples above show that the background characteristics of participants and the dynamics of the relationship between husband and wife is also important. Kukua holds a bachelors' degree in education and is a teacher in a secondary school. She appears to have a more open understanding of marriage. She believes that she has a role to play if her marriage is to last. One way of doing this is to send reverse remittances to her husband abroad as a sign of love and affection. Mansa's only has a primary education. She works as a market trader. She is more 'traditional' in her outlook and understanding of marriage. Their different backgrounds might have an influence on how they perceive marriage and the roles of husbands and wives in such arrangements.

Most of the male participants who did not receive money from their wives noted that their wives abroad send money to their extended family instead. These women did not send money to their husbands because according to their husbands we spoke to, they did not think it was their wives' responsibility to send them money no matter their financial situation at home. However, it is common for a Ghanaian woman migrant to send money to her husband to help put up a house in Ghana for her, though our informants did not think that helping a migrant wife to build a house in anyway reduces their social standing in the family arrangement. As one respondent put it:

I have my house. I actually built this house where we all were living till she migrated and she knows we are not going to move into that house she is building when she comes home. It is only an investment. If this happens, then I will be like her houseboy.

Quizzed further about why he will feel like a houseboy in his wife's house, this particular participant explicated that, 'it is not for nothing that a man will always want to live in an apartment with his wife or a family house owned by a man'. According to him, it does not only show who is the man of the house but also shows who will ask who to vacate the house when relations turn sour.

Nonetheless, it should also be noted that some women who have migrated send remittances to their husbands in Ghana. They send remittances on some occasions to help out with projects being undertaken together, like setting up a business or just to help their spouses. Ben, 46, whose wife has been overseas for 7 years at the time of the interview, indicated that he did not send his wife money but she sent him money albeit irregularly.

He however, made it clear that the money was a sort of an emergency fund which he assessed when his funds were depleted.

This example shows that when a man receives remittances from his wife, he finds justification for it. In our interview with these participants, he stressed that his wife sends him money sporadically and it was not something that was done on a regular basis. Emphasising that he does not receive regular remittances from his wife shows that he feels he still has some form of control and is in charge of his household. Regular remitting and total dependence on his wife's money will portray him as a man who is reliant on his wife and less as a man who makes provision for his family.

On the other hand, in some instances, male respondents did not send money to their wives abroad and neither did their wives abroad send them money. These respondents explained that it was because they had jobs so they did not really need money from their spouses abroad. Their spouses were also working in the country to which they have migrated, so they did not necessarily need money from their partners in Ghana. For instance, Nana, a 31 year old male participant indicated that he did not send his wife money neither did she also sent him money. He explained that this was due to the fact that both of them worked in the different places in which they found themselves. Nana did not however agree that receiving money from his wife will reduce his respect in relation to his wife. For him, the status of a man in the eyes of his wife is not contingent on whether or not the man receives remittances from his migrant wife. However, majority of our respondents resented this idea and have several patriarchal explanations.

Patriarchal norms and reverse remittance practice

Most of the male participants indicated that they send money to their wives. A number of reasons are behind why male respondents sent money to their spouses abroad. Kiki, 30, a banker, whose wife was overseas even before they got married, for example, mentioned that he sent an average of \$700 to his wife monthly. He explained that he sent her the money because his wife's partial scholarship did not cover her household expenses and bills. According to him, supporting her was just like supporting one's wife who is in Ghana and who is attending school. It is the husband's duty to provide for the wife and pay the utility bills. He explained thus:

She is my wife and a student and so I take care of her. If she was in Ghana I will still take care of her. So why should it change since she is abroad. You always have to be in charge whether the woman is here or elsewhere.

Being in charge in order to show that he is the 'man of the house' is the underlying reason why Kiki sends money to his wife who is schooling abroad. He sees it as his responsibility to provide her needs. This is because upon marriage, the husband takes over the duty of the woman's father as the provider for the woman. Rights and responsibility over a woman is transferred to the husband upon marriage (Nukunya, 2003).

Marcus, another participant who has been sending money to his wife, mentioned that he had been staying in the United Kingdom for some twenty odd years with his wife before deciding to return to Ghana. He stated that one could not stay in a foreign country for a long time without incurring any debt so he sent money to his wife first to pay off his debt and then also to contribute to his daughter's upkeep. His wife works abroad as a psychiatric nurse, and is more than capable of taking care of their daughter. He further explained that he did not want a situation where when his daughter grows up, she would tell him that he did not look after her. He therefore makes sure that his wife tells his daughter that the money for the new pair of shoes or any other thing came from daddy. He does this to assert his influence over his family, especially his daughter even though his is not with them. He does this to affirm his authority as her father and also to ensure that his daughter does not forget about him. Hence, his insistence on his wife telling their daughter that he is contributing towards her up-bringing.

Also, Coffie, 38, whose wife has been in the United Kingdom (UK) for 18 years narrated that he had two bank accounts; one in Ghana and the other in the United Kingdom. He indicated that he put money regularly in his UK bank account which primarily was for the children, to be used specifically for their upkeep. In the case of Kiki, Marcus and Coffie, they engage in reverse remittances to show how responsible they are towards their wives and families in order to still maintain the respect that a man will require by being responsible towards the family.

The transnational practice of sending money to spouses abroad has also been documented among Taiwanese migrants. Chee (2005) noted that Taiwanese men send money to their wives in the United States of America who migrate with their children as a result of the search for quality education for them. Chiang (2008) describes a similar process among Taiwanese transnational families who migrate with their children to Canada mainly for their children's education. In these contexts, Taiwanese men engaged in reverse remittances to still play the fatherly role as though they are physically living with the family.

However, underneath the explanations male participants offered for engaging in reverse remittances are patriarchal norms and socio cultural roles and expectations of husbands and wives in marriage which has been mentioned earlier. Comparing husbands with wives, most husbands sent money to their wives because they felt that it was their obligation as husbands to cater for their wives irrespective of their location and economic situation, whether in Ghana or abroad. For most of the male participants, neglecting this role signified a loss of their status as heads of their families. Felix, a 46 year old participant captured this vividly when he shared his position on the matter:

I have been taking care of the house so why should she send me money. You know men..., we are the head of the family and women keep their money to support their extended family. Fine, I've been taking care of the house when she was here. I don't think it is necessary for anything... I don't even like that idea because if you take money from your wife too much the respect will come down.

Felix went on to explain that it was not a matter of whether or not a man worked; a man does not have to depend on the wife no matter the situation. He clarifies further:

If I request she will [give] but I don't like that idea of taking money from your wife. You know a man of the house is always the man of the house'.

To the extent that even when the man of the house is actually in dire financial need, he will prefer not to take money from the wife. Solomon, 50, explains:

I tell her to keep her money so that when she comes we can use it to do something... it is not that she is not willing to send the money, it is me, I most often tell her I have money, even though sometimes it is hard for me.

Also, Jimmi, 48, who had been married for 15 years and whose wife has been away for 5 years indicated that if he took money from his wife he would be considered 'the lazy guy who takes advantage of his wife'. He sends reverse remittances to his wife and children to cater for their needs.

Conclusion

Remittances are an important aspect of the migration development nexus. Since the 1990s, there has been a proliferation of literature on remittances.

Most of these researches however, view remittances as a one way transfer of money and goods from developed to developing societies. They underscore the developmental nature of remittances for households and the economies of origin societies. These researches also highlight the poverty alleviating nature of remittances among households in sending societies who receive them. What this research does is to show that the remittance picture presented thus far has been heavily lopsided in favour of North to South remittance flows. This leaves out an equally important South to North flows which have been captured in other researches as reverse remittance. For reverse remittances to be brought into the equation, remittances should be seen as part of a two-way flow. It is also important to take cognisance of the cultural context of societies that engage in the practice. That societies all over the world are undergoing rapid changes is no news. However, there are some aspect of societies, especially some cultural practices which have remained resilient in the face of such social changes. In Ghana, one of such cultural resilience is patriarchal norms. In an ever globalising world where gender roles are being redefined, many Ghanaian men still feel it is their obligation to care for their wives irrespective of their geographical location. This study shows that some Ghanaian husbands abroad send remittances to their wives because they see it as their patriarchal duty to care for their family in Ghana. They migrate in search of better economic opportunities in order to satisfy this obligation.

Husbands in Ghana also send reverse remittances to their wives abroad. The explanations they offer indicates that if their families were in Ghana, they would care for them. Having their wives and children abroad for whatever reason does not affect their roles as husbands. One way of fulfilling this duty is to provide for their families financially which means sending reverse remittances. These men do not want to be seen as deserting their responsibilities. Remittance and by extension reverse remittance practice should therefore not be seen in purely economic terms and therefore divorced from the cultural setting in which they occur. By engaging the broader cultural perspective in which such transfers take place we will be in a better position to understand such transactions between migrants and their countries of origin. Also the above discussions show that remittances; regular or reverse are important in transnational family arrangement. Couples in such family arrangements therefore send reverse remittance or receive remittances as a way of maintaining the marital relationship and the principal and dominating positions of men in marriage. We must however acknowledge

that this research needs to be extended across different cultural, religious and socio-economic settings to comprehend further how patriarchy serves as an overarching element in determining whether or not to receive remittances, and of course what women feel when they receive remittances from their husbands; dominated?

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PART 4:

**CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES
IN MIGRATION RESEARCH**

Chapter Twelve

CHANGING CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION ON SENDING AND RECEIVING COUNTRIES

Leander Kandilige

Background

Globally, there has been a renewed interest with the role of international migrants in development discourses. They are simultaneously perceived as agents for development as well as risks to national security. On the one hand, there has been a growing securitisation of international migration manifested in nation states (especially those in the global North) imposing stricter immigration controls and stringent financial monitoring systems apparently in an attempt to curb terrorism – since the World Trade Centre attacks in New York on September 11, 2001 (Schiller and Faist, 2010). Practical examples include the European Union's (EU) measures aimed at strengthening its external borders, sharing of immigration data among member states, synchronising fingerprints technology (2000 Eurodac Regulation) and signing of readmission agreements with source countries. The Union has also set up the EU Borders Agency (FRONTEX) which is charged with enhancing the integration of border security through coordination of operations, shared intelligence, technical cooperation and training (Spencer, 2011). On the other hand, the European Union and its member states (paradoxically), international organisations from the United Nations and a myriad of non-governmental organisations together with international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), hail migrants as vital drivers of development.

This paradoxical interpretation of the role of migrants in development therefore calls for a nuanced analysis of how development is generally conceptualised and what the possible nexus could be between migration and development in both sending and receiving countries.

Conceptual Context

Migration is conceptualised as an intrinsically socio-spatial phenomenon, which involves the movement of individuals and groups across space into and out of an area (Gould, 2009). The process of movement is characterised by flows and how they are measured and described. In addition to flows, however, there is what is referred to as stocks of migrants— the accumulated number of people who have moved to a given area. As a result, whereas movement is usually conceptualised in terms of flows, migrant populations are perceived as stocks. The distinction between flows and stocks is crucial to the migration-development nexus debate. Migration flows typically occur over a period of time rather than being an event that takes place at a given place and time. The transient nature of migrant flows engenders different impacts on sending and receiving countries compared with those imposed by migrant stocks. Most migration-related discourses are usually centred on migrant stocks, since such data are much easier to collect and are relatively more reliable than those of migrant flows (Castles and Miller, 2009).

There have also been several attempts at defining the concept of development mainly within the discipline of economics but also the wider Social Sciences. It is a debated concept, which has attracted varying degrees of debates both within historical and contemporary literature (Lewis, 1955; Rostow, 1960; Mabogunje, 1989; UNDP, 2009). Both scholars and practitioners have subjected the concept of development to multiple interpretations.

Scholars have placed emphasis, to varying degrees, on different facets of the concept as in their attempt to delineate what they perceive as essential. For instance, one school of thought argues that the widespread association of migration and remittances with development needs to be examined closely through the prism of agency-oriented concepts of human development. This view is espoused by scholars such as Sen's (1999) "capability"; Nussbaum's (1992) "human flourishing", and Griffin's (1986) "human well-being" conceptualisations. As noted by de Haas (2009), Amartya Sen's definition of human development as the process of expanding the substantive freedoms that people enjoy, for instance, suggests that an analysis of the nexus between migration and development needs to be based on a broader, more inclusive and agency-focused interpretation of development. Sen (1999) explained such freedoms in terms of the concept of human capability, which refers to the ability of human beings to lead

lives they have reason to value and to improve the substantive choices they have. This conceptualisation is markedly different from definitions by classical development economists like Rostow (1960) and Lewis (1955) who measured development by economic growth, especially the increase in market activities. The Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank and the IMF) and neo-classical economists also adopt similar classical definitions of development. The classical approach is, however, not without criticism (see for example McMichael, 2000; Porter and Sheppard, 1998; Friedmann, 1992).

Sen (1999) disagrees with the overwhelming use of growth of income as the yardstick for development by development theorists and rather argues for the central focus to be on whether the capabilities of people to control their lives have expanded or not. He perceives freedom as central to the process of development. In addition, he highlights the intrinsic importance of human freedoms as an objective of development that should not only be judged in their income-generating capacity but rather seen as the principal end of development in themselves (quoted in de Haas, 2009:21). Importantly, Sen (1999) identifies freedoms, *inter alia*, the opportunity to live long and healthy lives, access to good accommodation, being well-clothed, having access and right to basic education, enjoying the freedom of employment choice, having the freedom of association and assembly and the ability to participate in public debate without fear of retribution, as intrinsic development virtues in themselves. Also, the act of enhancing individual freedoms is believed to be instrumental in promoting economic growth and further expansion of human freedoms.

The different approaches to how development is defined and measured sometimes lead to contradictory conclusions on the likely impact of migration on development (Castles, 2008; Taylor, 1999:68). In addition, due to different theoretical and ideological backgrounds and beliefs of analysts, the same action by migrants such as investing in a piece of land, can be perceived as an indication of development by some whilst at the same time, seen by others as a problem due to the potential inflationary pressures that it could generate (Basok, 2003; Papademetriou and Martin, 1991). Development policy, in the past fifteen years, is mostly focused on poverty alleviation and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (NDPC, 2010; NDPC, 2005; Martin et al., 2002). The same can be said for the objects of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the offshoot to the MDGs. This portrays a greater emphasis on the quality of

life interpretation of development compared with the market activity focus of previous perspectives. As de Haas (2009:5) concludes, development is not only a complex multi-dimensional concept, but can also be assessed at different levels of analysis and has different meanings within different normative, cultural and historical contexts.

For the purpose of this chapter, Basok's (2003) conceptualisation of development is adopted. As Basok notes, development in migration studies is mostly linked to economic growth-related variables like generation of employment and increase in agricultural production, and welfare-related variables such as reduction of poverty, increase in average income, and decrease in inequality (Durand, Parrado and Massey, 1996; Taylor, 1999:68). The merit in Basok's perspective is the fact that it combines both the economic growth and quality of life interpretations of development. This perspective of development is consistent with that of Dudley Seers (1969) who famously defined development as 'the reduction and elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within a growing economy'.

Structural Factors Influencing International Migration

Migration has contributed to significant transformation of the outlook of societies across the globe. The social relevance of migrants is, however, tied to the changing economic, social and political context over time and on the significance attached to their presence by residents at destination areas (Castles and Miller, 2009: 10). Six main trends have been identified in contemporary patterns of migration. In their classic book on migration studies *The Age of Migration* Castles and Miller (2009) point to the following: globalisation, the tendency of more countries to be affected by migration and to receive migrants from a large range of sending countries; acceleration in the number of people involved; increasing differentiation in the range of categories of migrants; feminisation of migration, that is the significant proportion of women in current migration flows; politicisation, in its impact on domestic politics and prominence in bilateral and international agreements; and transition, where countries of emigration become countries of immigration.

The increasing numbers and diversity in source countries of migrants is partly attributable to the structural factors that characterise the migration system. These factors include: North-South development inequalities; immigration policy changes; securitisation of international migration;

development of informal economies in developed countries; climate change and environmental degradation; international legal frameworks and human rights; regional groupings (EU, AU, ECOWAS, Arab League, among others) and bilateral agreements and escalation of conflicts by non-state actors. Without overstating the point, two of these factors are discussed in some detail to highlight how such structural factors influence migration patterns and the possible effects on both source and receiving countries.

An obvious structural factor is that of the growing gap in North-South development rates. People who are trapped in poverty, deprivation, squalor and/or conflict would have a higher propensity to migrate. Whether they would be able to afford to migrate across national borders and over what period of time would be determined by a combination of factors: their access to financial resources, their networks, access to information, aspiration and determination, and human capital. These basic social, economic and political factors almost serve as ‘repellents’ of migrants from mostly developing countries to developed ones, where a higher standard of living and security are anticipated. This structural argument informs the thinking of some European politicians and scholars who have advocated the use of development aid and trade liberalisation as mechanisms for reducing migration rather than restrictive immigration laws and intensified border controls (Schiff, 1994). The president of the European Commission (José Manuel Barroso) confirmed this line of thinking in his statement in October 2005, that “The problem of immigration, the dramatic consequences of which we are witnessing, can only be addressed effectively [...] through an ambitious and coordinated development [plan] to fight its root causes”. However, whilst proposals like this could have a positive impact on migrant flow and stock numbers in the longer term, the immediate-to-medium term impacts are rather negative. This is explained by the familiar inverted U-shaped or ‘migration hump’ effect on the relationship between migration and development – more development leads to higher migration in the short-to-medium term before gradually reducing in the longer term (de Haas, 2006; Castles, 2004; Olesen, 2002; Martin and Taylor, 1996).

Another structural reality is the existence of informal economies in developed countries, that have high demand for the services of low-skilled labour usually employed under less than satisfactory conditions in some cases. This phenomenon characterises the peculiar role of irregular migrants who are predominantly exploited as a cheap source of labour offering ‘dependency, invisibility and availability’ (Morice, 2004). Irregular migrants

are also perceived as more compliant to exploitative labour conditions and easier to lay off during economic downturns (Gibney, 2009). Obviously the existence of such structures helps to determine whether international migration is perceived as beneficial or detrimental to source and receiving countries (Sassen, 2006).

Sending-Country Effects

Interpretations of the effects of international migration on sending countries have been dominated by essentially two incompatible sets of theories over the last five decades. Neo-classical economic theory on migration is based on equilibrium models and models of development that expound the relevance of the European experience and subsequent diffusion of development. The general assumption in this theory is that migration benefits both source and receiving countries, if even in unequal proportions. At the macro-level, this theory explains migration by geographical differences in the supply of and demand for labour (de Haas, 2008:4). There is the expectation of a movement of labour from low-wage, labour surplus regions to high-wage, labour scarce ones. Capital, in the form of remittances, is expected to move in the opposite direction. These remittances would then support development in source countries. The bi-directional benefit is realised as receiving countries take advantage of the surplus labour to drive development whilst capital remitted by migrants also supports development in source countries. Ultimately, the theory forecasts a process of ‘factor price equalisation’, which serves as a saturation point, whereby international migration would cease to be necessary. This theory was in vogue mainly around the 1950s and 1960s but different variants of it have been propounded periodically since then. This ‘diffusionist’ perspective is modelled on functionalist paradigm of social theory as the central argument for factor price equalisation assumes that economic forces tend towards an equilibrium and also because it largely ignores the existence of market imperfections and other structural constraints on development (de Haas, 2008:6). In addition, the neo-classical migration theory is situated firmly within ‘developmentalist’ modernisation theory, which portrays development as essentially a linear, universal process made up of successive stages, which must be followed rigidly.

The renewed focus on remittances in contemporary times, in what is popularly referred to as the ‘development mantra’ (Ratha, 2003), is driven largely by a combination of neoclassical and neoliberal economic

perspectives. Conservative estimates from official sources have recorded remittances to developing countries as rising from US\$2 billion in 1970 to about \$325 billion in 2010 (World Bank, 2011 and Gammeltoft, 2002). These figures exceed the value of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in most developing countries. Figures on Ghana are presented as a proxy for migrant-sending developing countries.

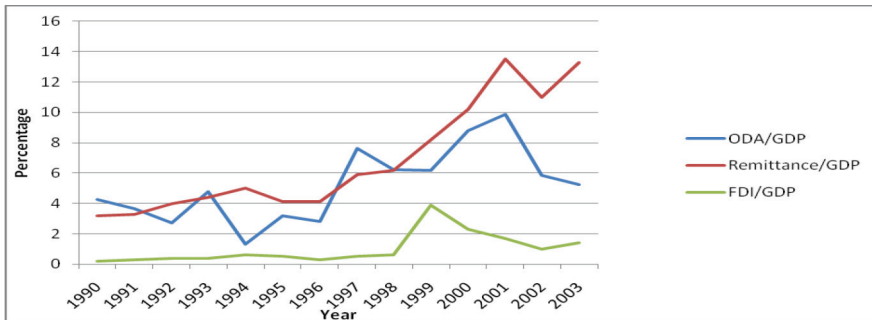


Figure 12.1: ODA, Remittance and FDI as a percentage of GDP in Ghana (1990-2003)

Source: Addison, (2004) and Bank of Ghana, (2010)

For the period 1990 to 2003, Bank of Ghana data suggest that private unrequited transfers had a significant impact on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As a percentage of GDP, remittances increased from about 2 per cent in 1990 to about 13 per cent in 2003 and also increased from 22 per cent to almost 40 per cent as a percentage of total exports earnings during the same period (Addison, 2004). Addison also indicates that overall, total remittances increased more than proportionately vis a vis exports, imports and even GDP. This trend of year-on-year increases in the aggregate volume of remittances continued from 2004 through 2008. The Bank of Ghana recorded a rise from \$1.2 billion in 2004 to over \$1.9 billion in 2008. This contribution is substantial as a boost to the availability of foreign currency to support Ghana's balance of payments and the importation of essential products towards national development. However, according to Quartey (2009), Bank of Ghana figures indicate a 7.3 per cent decrease in the volume of remittances in the first quarter of 2009 compared with that of 2008 due to the global recession. This is, however, against the backdrop of claims in the migration literature of a counter-cyclical nature of remittances and the resilience associated with volumes of remittances even

during macro-economic downturns, political conflicts or climatic vagaries (de Haas, 2009; Alper and Neyapti 2006; Kurosaki, 2006; Lindley, 2006; Quartey, 2006; Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2005; Yang, 2004; Quartey and Blanson, 2004; Buch et al., 2003).

Remittances could also be social (Levitt, 1996). This entails the transmission of learnt behaviours, attitudes, ideas, practices, cultures and social capital from receiving countries. These transfers can have transformative effects on the 'stay-behinds' (Levitt, 2001).

The pendulum swung from the optimists' conceptualisations on effects on sending countries in the 1950s and 60s to a polar opposite argument by pessimistic historical-structuralists who focused on what they perceived as unbalanced power dynamics and asymmetric growth (De Haas, 2008). This paradigm on development has intellectual origins in the Marxist political economy and in world systems theory (Castles and Miller, 2003). The structuralists postulate that developing countries (mostly source countries for migrants) are trapped by their disadvantaged position within the global geopolitical structure (de Haas, 2008). Massay et al. (1998:36) also point out that even though historical-structuralists did not consciously attempt to carve out a migration theory per se, they nonetheless interpreted migration as one of the many manifestations of capitalist penetration and the increasingly unequal terms of trade between developed and developing countries. Between 1970s and 80s the dominant view of migration by the then leading theories (historical-structuralist theory, dependency theory, cumulative causation theory, and world-systems theory) was that migration was not only detrimental to the economies of underdeveloped countries but rather one of the very causes of underdevelopment (de Haas, 2008). There was a spatial categorisation of countries according to their level of dependency. They argued that there is no free will on the part of migrants but rather compulsion due to external structural constraints. They highlighted the negative practical impacts of migration on peasant communities, their economies and demographic dynamics in sending countries/communities.

Other popular negative impacts of international migration on sending countries include concerns over brain drain, shortage of vital skills and expertise in sending countries. There is also the risk of indoctrination and interference by migrants in national governance. Excess cost on welfare spending and social services for old and infirmed returnees could be potential burden on sending countries. In addition, unemployment levels could be exacerbated during high volumes of return migration. Dependence on

remittances, the creation of a migration culture especially among the youth, adverse effects on social and cultural systems in sending communities and inflationary pressures on cost of land due to increased demand by migrants are equally issues of contention by sending countries (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014; Basok, 2003).

The 1990s saw a more positive outlook on the nexus between migration and development from the sending country perspective again. The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory takes a slightly different perspective to that of earlier 'optimistic' theories. The NELM approach emanates from the neo-classical theoretical tradition but challenges the methodological individualism at the center of the neo-classical approach (Gubert, 2002; Taylor and Martin, 2001; Taylor, 1999; Massey and Parrado, 1998; Massey and Espinosa, 1997). It also accepts disparities in wages as motivating migratory decisions but considers the family or household as the unit of analysis and not the individual. In addition, it expands the remit beyond disparities in wages and risk involved in the travel to include micro-economic conditions like lack of credit, market constraints and uncertainties surrounding poverty. Households, according to the NELM, see migration as a risk-spreading mechanism and remittances from migrants are expected to cushion those risks. This theory highlights the central role of remittances as a motive for migrating. It therefore reasserts the importance of international remittances in aiding households to overcome both market constraints and invest in productive activities, which have the potential to improve their lives. The main criticism of this theory, however, especially in contemporary times, is that modern technological and communication advancements have given migrants the opportunity to make migration decisions without necessarily having to rely on the household as the main decision making unit.

The post-2000 era has been referred to as the 'transnational turn' in the field of migration studies (Castles and Miller, 2003 and Faist, 2004). With the advent of modern technological advancements, cheap communications and transportation systems migrants' lives have been characterised by greater circulation and concurrent commitment to two or more societies. This has made it possible for simultaneous allegiance and contribution to more than one country at the same time. It has also made redundant the need for return as a means of contributing to the sending country. The prior limited option of either integrating into receiving societies or committing to the sending ones therefore became unnecessary.

Other positive effects on sending countries alluded to by migration optimists (de Haas, 2005; Basok, 2003) include: the employment of excess labour, skills and technology transfers (brain gain), lobbying and improving international relations, likely improvement in governance structures and accountability/advocacy for adherence to human rights.

Effects on Receiving Countries

Receiving countries also benefit from the arrival of international migrants. Firstly, there is the injection of supplementary labour force into their economies, which has the potential of contributing to national development. Skilled labour is attracted to the primary labour market whilst the relatively cheap unskilled labour tends to service the secondary labour market. This distinction is guided by the dual labour market theory, by Piore (1979), that focuses on the nation-state as the unit of analysis. Piore regards migrants as driven by the segmentation of the industrial labour market in receiving economies into primary and secondary labour markets. The primary labour market is characterised by the need for a skilled, permanent labour force that is legally protected. The secondary labour market, on the other hand, requires cheap, unskilled labour whose rights cannot be guaranteed. Jobs taken up by secondary sector workers are normally menial in nature and there are very few avenues for future advancement. Migrants accept these jobs because they are 'target-earners' (meaning they migrate mainly to meet certain expectations and then return to their place of origin). Such migrants are willing to accept the low status and lack of social mobility that comes with it because they are just passing through. These become sustained sources of labour for industrial development since there are abundant sources of such willing labour.

It has been estimated by the World Bank that migrant labour around the world (skilled and unskilled) earns about US\$20 trillion per annum and that the bulk of that amount is invested in the host countries (Koser, 2007). Globally, migrants are employed in jobs, some of which are unattractive to the 'home born' citizens, but also in others that local people lack the skills to do. This partly explains the presence of vast numbers of highly skilled foreign-born nationals in the world's 'global cities' such as London, New York, Paris and Hong Kong. Some global brands such as Google, Intel, Yahoo, Kodak, Atlantic Records, ebay, NBC, Hotmail and Microsoft were all either started or co-founded by migrants (Koser, 2007:10). The added advantage for receiving countries stems from the fact that they do not tend

to bear the cost of rearing, educating or training the highly skilled migrants who eventually work in their financial and commercial cities. These costs (which are mostly high) are primarily borne by developing countries that are indebted. Furthermore, migrants tend to return home to retire in most cases (Skeldon, 2005). This exempts receiving countries again from the exorbitant costs involved in social care and pensions of migrants during their old age.

Receiving countries also gain from tax contributions and academic fees paid to local universities by migrant workers and international students respectively. Academic fees from non-EU university students in the UK alone rose from £672 million to £1.275 billion over a five-year period (1999 to 2004) (Spencer, 2011:107). Vickers and Bekhradnia (2007) concluded that the UK economy also benefited substantially from EU higher education students during and after their education. They estimate an amount of £866 million in fees and living expenses per annum and another £100 million fiscal gain (2004/2005) from those remaining to work after their graduation. Kelly et al (2009) further pointed out a similar trend in positive financial contributions to the UK economy in 2007/2008. Off campus expenditure of overseas students was estimated at about £2.3 billion, generating 27,600 jobs and contributing £1.51 billion to UK's GDP. Non-EU university students also contributed, through higher fees charged, £3.42 billion to the UK balance of trade in 2007/2008. Recent studies by the University College of London's Migration Research Unit conclude that migrants made a £25 billion net contribution to the UK economy over a ten-year period (2001-2011) and that migrants, especially from the European Economic Area, paid 34 per cent more in taxes than they received in benefits.

There are also benefits derived from the social and cultural infusion in to receiving countries by the presence of migrants. These can take the form of poetry, literature, belief systems, cuisine, drama, sports, music, life styles or even inventions. For instance, a rich variety of music styles such as reggae, jazz and bhangra all originated from migration. In addition, some of the world's renowned writers (for example Salman Rushdie, Chinua Achebe, and Ben Okri) were migrants at one point in time. In general, the migrant experience has inspired a rich collection of post-colonial literature. Popular examples include: Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia*, Zadie Smith's *White Teeth*, and Monica Ali's *Brick Lane* (Koser, 2007:104).

International migrants also tend to be ambitious, educated, hardworking, and young people (Lewis, 1986; Schiller and Faist, 2010). These attributes

all point to a category that is dwindling at an alarming rate in most developed receiving countries. As a result, young and hardworking international migrants help to deal with the demographic deficit in developed countries (Koser, 2007; Weeks, 2012). Most industrialised countries are becoming victims of their own success. Due to marked improvements in healthcare, higher quality of life and better contraception facilities there have been increasing life expectancies and low birth rates in such countries. They are therefore caught up in an interesting conundrum whereby there are growing numbers of people living up to almost 100 years but at the same time fewer young people who are economically active. These population dynamics have triggered pension and welfare crises in some developed countries. Arguably, migration is one essential ingredient in helping to address the acute shortfall (Skeldon, 2005).

The transnational turn also generates benefits for receiving countries in the form of charges applied by local money transfer agencies, businesses set up to meet migrants' specific needs, taxes from airlines servicing migrant communities and revenue from international call charges.

Conversely, international migration poses some challenges to receiving countries. Diversity, for instance, enriches societies but it needs to be managed carefully to avoid conflict. Migrants from different cultural, social, economic and political backgrounds need to be integrated into host societies and at the same time expressing their cultural heritage. A majority of Western countries are mostly secular societies with very liberal views on issues such as gay rights, abortion, religious freedom, free speech, women's rights and free press. The task of integrating migrants, some of whom hold strong views on controversial issues like gay rights and the freedom to question the authenticity of religious dogma, is a delicate balancing act.

Integration should be a process by which mutual interaction between migrants and the individuals and institutions of the receiving society is established. This would facilitate economic, social, cultural, political, religious and civic participation and an inclusive sense of belonging both at the local and national levels. Failures in integration manifest themselves in the form of xenophobic feelings among indigenous populations towards foreigners, especially during economic downturns. Prominent examples from Europe include the vicious and discriminatory activities of nationalist/racist groups such as the Golden Dawn Party in Greece and the English Defence League (EDL) and British National Party (BNP) in the UK (Spencer, 2011).

Without seeking to generalise, some international migrants and even refugees sometimes pose national security risks to host countries. These isolated incidents have a profound ability to reinforce anti-immigrant feelings among local populations. High profile cases such as those of the Palestinian Muslim of Jordanian citizenship (Abu Qatada) who was resident in the UK but suspected of having links with Al-Qaida and the killing of a British army soldier (Lee Rigby) by two Nigerian-British nationals (Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebowale) in May 2013 fuelled calls for politicians to impose even stricter screening processes on all immigrants. However, enhanced immigration control measures come at a cost to host nations and sometimes lead to claims of breaches of international laws and conventions such as the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees (especially Articles 33 and 31); Article 3 of the 1984 UN Convention Against Torture, Article 14 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that 'everyone has the right to seek and enjoy ... asylum from persecution', and Article 22 of the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, among others.

Conclusions

Migration can contribute positively to socio-economic development in both sending and receiving countries. However, there are some challenges emanating from migration that need to be managed carefully if the positive effects are to be maximized.

Any development attributed to migration is contingent on the prevailing structural conditions and infrastructural provisions especially in the sending country (Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002). As de Haas (2009:52) aptly states:

Notwithstanding the, often considerable blessings for individuals, households and communities, migration is no panacea for solving more structural development constraints. Migration can neither be blamed for a lack of development, nor be expected to trigger take-off development in generally unattractive investment environments.

Migration is also, fundamentally, a social phenomenon, which as Castles (2009) aptly notes, should be analysed not primarily as a result of social transformation, nor a cause of social transformation, but as an integral part of most processes of social transformation. It can be concluded that there will continue to be vacillations in interpretations of the role of international migration in development processes so long as there are paradigm shifts in social theory.

Finally, given the complex multifaceted nature of the concept of development, Basok's (2003) definition, which combines economic-related and welfare-related variables, better represents the scope of the concept assessed at different levels of analysis and its ability to engender different meanings within different normative, cultural and historical contexts (de Haas, 2009: 5).

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Chapter Thirteen

MIGRATION RESEARCH IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND PRACTICE

Delali Margaret Badasu and Akosua Darkwah

Introduction

Globally, research has gained a prominent position in academic institutions and among development planners and practitioners. Increasing attention is being given to research by higher institutions of learning. The University of Ghana, for example, ranks research topmost among its nine strategic priorities (2014- 2024) and states its vision as follows; ‘Our vision is to become a “World Class research-intensive University” over the next decade’. The emphasis on research and the purpose thereof are also clearly stated in the mission of the university (www.ug.edu.gh) as follows:

We will create an enabling environment that makes University of Ghana increasingly relevant to national and global development through cutting-edge research as well as high quality teaching and learning.

If the vision of the University of Ghana is to be attained through its research and other activities, it suggests that research itself is desirable not only as an academic exercise but also for development reasons. Indeed, Muchie (2008) has noted a similar notion in his book titled “*Africa Needs Research Universities to Fight Poverty*”. The establishment of the Office for Research Innovation and Development (ORID) which is headed by a Pro-Vice Chancellor is an indication of the importance attached to research by the university. ORID began publishing an annual research report for the university from 2013 (Office of Research Innovation and Development, 2015). All major research endeavors by the various disciplines of the university are catalogued in it. Secondly a maiden research conference held by the largest college in the university, College of Humanities, in June 2015 and a maiden “University of Ghana Doctoral Research Conference” scheduled for November 5- 6, 2015 further show the relevance of research to the University of Ghana (www.ug.edu.gh).

This development may not be unique to University of Ghana. Research collaborations and research consortia are not uncommon in many tertiary institutions in the global divide and also between those in the Global North and the Global South. Also, there has been increasing demand for higher education worldwide and research has remained a partial requirement for the fulfillment of graduation most programmes in institutions of higher learning. Research and publication of the research findings have also been major requirements for promotion in institutions of higher education. And two major objectives of an average research are: 1) To produce and disseminate data and other information and 2) To make policy recommendation(s) based on the findings for development planners and practitioners.

Development planners and policy makers have increasingly been depending on data and research evidence for effective planning and for optimal outcomes. Any development planning short of data results in moderate or limited achievement of their goals. Research financing has therefore become a major component of development assistance, particularly to developing countries. Calls for research proposals for research grant demand relevance of a proposed research activity to one development issue or another. Establishment of scholarship schemes for graduate students with research components are also directed at increasing availability of research evidence for development planning.

Leading roles in financing and directing of research for development, particularly in the discipline of demography one of the main disciplines to which migration as a field of study belongs, have been played by the United Nations and its agencies and other international agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) interested in development and related areas. Some governmental agencies include United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom, *International Development Research Centre* (IDRC) of Canada, German Agency for International Development Cooperation (GIZ), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), among others. Contribution to demographic research has been made by regional and other bodies too- the European Union (EU), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Global Development Network (GDN), the African Development Bank (AfDB), among others. Research activities of individuals, institutions and associations interested in demographic research and other disciplines have also been sponsored by foundations and fellowship programmes such

as Bill Gates Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Fulbright Fellowship, among others.

Research financial assistance for collaboration among researchers has largely aimed at addressing persisting human development challenges such as poverty, inequalities, poor health, among others. The need for innovative research for addressing these challenges has been urgent (Muchie, 2008, Matos, 1999). Emerging human complex health situations such as HIV and AIDS and the Ebola, non-communicable diseases in low income and scarce health-resourced settings and human movements (irregular and forced especially), among other population conditions have consistently challenged the adequacy of existing policies for addressing them. The need for innovative approaches to investigating the interrelationships among the intricately related determinants of these and other conditions challenging the human race cannot be overemphasized. Research has therefore been largely policy driven. And financial support for research is generally guided by donor preferences regarding focus and expected outcomes. However, over-reliance on financial assistance from international sources for research has the potential of limiting scope and relevance of research to national development (Berriane and de Haas, 2012). Perhaps this accounts for the delayed “appearance and prioritization” of migration research in the global context compared to the other components of demography. To a very large extent, migration as a field of study and one of three components of demography has not been given as much attention as the other two components (fertility and mortality) of demography. The complex nature of migration as an event and a process may be contributing factors.

In the rest of the chapter, the context and the apparent neglect of migration in global development is examined first. It is followed by discussion of the consequence for migration research within the wider scope of demographic research. The changing fortune of migration and the subsequent progress and prospects of its research, particularly recent innovative ones spanning over the last two decades are examined next. Finally, some peculiar challenges that are associated with migration research and data are discussed and recommendations for future research are also made.

Apparent Neglect of Migration in Development Agenda of the International Community

Demography, one of the disciplines that study migration, has witnessed considerable increase in research since the last quarter of the 20th Century. Two major developments account for this. Firstly, interest of development planners and policy makers in integrating population variables into development planning required research evidence. One of the major outcomes of the various international conferences on population and development, particularly the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo, Egypt is the building of international consensus on addressing the consequences of the interrelationship between population and development. The need to integrate population variables into development planning, particularly in the developing world has been accorded priority attention at such gatherings.

Indeed, the developing countries especially have had to pay more attention to population issues in development planning as their development challenges were exacerbated by rapid growth of their population, a process that begun about two decades (1970s) earlier following improvements in child survival rates and life expectancy. Greater political commitment to managing population and integrating population variables into development planning has been expected of governments in the developing world. Some sub-Saharan African countries like Ghana, Kenya, Zimbabwe, among others, had already adopted national population policies to address population issues in development planning before the ICPD. Indeed, high fertility was singled out as a negative factor in the population and development interrelationship of low income countries. Consequently, family planning programmes were placed at the centre of population policies and programmes in sub-Saharan African countries, for example. Even though migration has been a livelihood strategy in African societies it was not given as much attention as other population variables. This is discussed in the subsequent sections.

Demographic and Health Surveys

The World Fertility Survey (WFS), for example, was conducted in the 1970s to provide information on the patterns of fertility worldwide. The results of the WFS in the absence of population censuses and other sources of data led to the establishment of the demographic and health survey

(DHS), a USAID-funded project that was introduced in the 1980s. The implementation of the DHS in many countries furthered global interest in demographic and related research. Over the past twenty-five years, DHS experts have provided assistance for the implementation of the project in 85 countries in the developing world. The themes covered have been fertility, mortality and other health topics such as maternal nutritional status, female genital cutting, HIV/AIDS as well as gender and related social issues and conditions of child wellbeing such as child nutritional status and orphanhood (Gerenne, 2011).

The population subgroups covered and sampled for the DHSs are women aged 15- 49 years and males aged 15- 59 years. Including questions or a module on migration in the DHSs inevitably excludes migrants in other age brackets such as child migrants. Meanwhile, child migration has been on the increase in many developing countries including Ghana (Badasu et al., 2009, Kwankye and Addoquaye Tagoe, 2009). A migration survey covering relevant themes would have met the need for requisite migration data and other evidence necessary for development planning. The absence of migration survey obviously indicates the neglect of the phenomenon in development planning and social science research in Ghana and other developing countries where the DHSs have been conducted. Ghana, for example, has conducted six DHSs at five-year intervals (1988, 1993, 1998, 2003 and 2008) and the most recent one in 2014. Meanwhile only one migration survey has been conducted in the country in 1991 and published in 1995 in two volumes (internal and international). A migration profile of Ghana compiled in 2009 (Quartey, 2009) is yet to be followed by another. The inclusion of questions on migration in Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) has made some migration data and other information available but again without complete coverage since the GLSS is a survey. The population and housing censuses ask questions on migration- place of birth, length of stay at current place of residence and nationality- but censuses are conducted every ten years, making it difficult to ensure availability and timeliness of migration data.

The absence of population registers in many developing countries, including Ghana, also prevents the capturing of migration and associated events and processes in them for development planning. Even when such registers exist, inadequate maintenance of the system results in poor data collection and information dissemination. Poorly utilized vital registration systems also remain a challenge to African demographic data management,

for example. Gerenne (2011), in his work on fifty years of demographic research in Africa, has noted the poor vital registration systems in Africa despite the few positive experiences. He cited Lorimer (1968) who also earlier indicated that vital registration in Uganda started in 1904 but still remained incomplete then.

Demographic Surveillance Systems

Another major development in demographic research is the establishment of Demographic Surveillance Systems (DSS), also called Sentinel Demographic Sites. In sub-Saharan Africa, there were 17 DSS in 2011 that were grouped into the IN-DEPTH network and they promote “in-depth high quality and comparative studies on fertility, mortality, migration, causes of death and inequalities” (Garenne, 2011: 157). Today, there are 52 DSSs in Africa, Asia and Oceania with Africa accounting for 39 of them. Burkina Faso, Kenya and Ethiopia have five DSSs each and Ghana and a few others have three each (www.indepth-network.org). Even though migration variables are of concern to the DSSs the other two components of demography- fertility and mortality and related issues are their major focus and consequently that of those who use their data.

The Union for African Population Studies (UAPS) and the International Union for Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) and their regional and national constituents for instance have been holding international and regional conferences to present or disseminate research findings on various population themes (including migration) and related areas over the past four decades or so, using secondary datasets from the DSSs and DHSs. Generally, themes on migration are not featured as much as those on fertility (reproductive health in particular) and mortality (health and related areas). Support for such conferences has been from sources that promote policy benefits of research evidence for development planning. They generally lay emphasis on themes on fertility and mortality. The global community has witnessed several international conferences on reproductive health and on HIV and AIDS as threats to health status, human progress and human security, especially in sub-Saharan Africa which has had the greatest burden of the disease (Population Reference Bureau, 2014).

The challenge associated with the management of irregular migration, and even regular migration recently (Chrouchi 2002), has equally been recognized as an obstacle to national security. However, the attention being given to the current outpouring of refugees in the Middle East

and Southern and Western Africa, with thousands losing their lives and thereby creating hardship to their families and others has attracted more of sensational journalistic investigation than research for evidence-based policy formulation.

Apparently, the nations affected by the mobility of individuals and groups have been responding with policies already “adopted” to protect national or regional interest, sometimes with little or no regard for human rights of migrants when overwhelmed by the increasing numbers of refugees and economic migrants that enter their country with or without visa or any documentation. Some countries such as Austria which had liberal international migration policies have now adopted restrictive policy in response to massive movements into their country (Tallmeister, 2013). These developments demand a concerted effort towards international consensus building to address the situation. Best policy approaches that are crucial in this regard can be adopted when some research evidence is available. Migration research can receive more attention when the phenomenon is not only recognized as an important element of development planning but also taken as an important source of research evidence for policy adoption.

Global Context of the Search for Alternative Development Approaches and the Recognition of Migration

Even though fertility and mortality research endeavors have received considerable attention from researchers and policy makers, migration research seemed to matter less to development planners and practitioners until the 1990s when debate on the migration and development nexus emerged on the academic and development planning landscape (Gould, 2009). This period coincided with the search for alternatives to traditional development planning and financing approaches that seemed to elude many developing countries. For example, the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) introduced from the 1980s had failed to put many African countries such as Ghana back on a sustainable development path. The SAPs basically aimed at reducing government subsidy on social services such as health and education and promote divestiture of the economy, thereby promoting partnership of citizens with government for development. For many developing countries, including Ghana, the 1980s and 1990s was marked by a search for a nationally relevant development strategy (Dzorgbo, 2001)

By the 1990s, the potential of migrant remittances in development financing and alleviation of poverty was then singled out as a potential for development in low income countries that are sources of international migrants. Eventually, migrants have been considered as agents of development and highlighted in the migration-development nexus. It must be noted that this nexus has however been debated, even to date (Gould, 2009). Moreover, discussion on the role of migration in development process was recognized by the international community at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Egypt from September 5- 13, 1994. Chapter Ten of the Programme of Action, the official document on the conference, is on international migration and Section A is on migration and development even as the focus of the conference was on economic development and poverty reduction (www.unfpa.org/icpd). Thus the international community started to identify migration, international migration specifically, as a factor in development at the 1994 ICPD. After more than a decade, in 2006, the United Nations General Assembly's High-Level Dialogue (HLD) on International Migration and Development (HLD) was initiated by the Secretary General. This first HLD was followed by a second one in October 2013 at which migration was recognized as a key factor for sustainable development. It was then emphasized that ways must be found to maximize its development benefits and minimize its negative impacts. Representatives from UN Member States, intergovernmental entities, civil society and the private sector have since then participated in the dialogue. The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) is one of the outcomes of the 2006 HLD and has attracted similar participants since 2007 when it was first held. The GFMD has been created as a platform for governments to discuss the migration and development nexus. The 8th GFMD was held from October 14- 16, 2015 in Istanbul, Turkey under the theme "Strengthening Partnerships: Human Mobility for Sustainable Development". This theme is chosen in recognition of the post-2015 of post-MDGs global development theme which is on sustainable development and the attempts to have migration given due recognition in the post-2015 era (www.gfmd.org).

Despite the discussions on migration and development and the increasing attention that it begun to receive academia and policy makes before the turn of the new century, the members of the United Nations who attended the 2000 special session of the United Nations, popularly known as the Millennium Summit (UNDP, 2000), failed to recognize the role of

migration in development. This summit and the international community consequently laid emphasis on other demographic issues in the MDGs. As a development framework, the MDGs guided many countries during the period of their implementation- 2000 to 2015.

Demographic research has grown considerably since the introduction of the MDGs. Professional bodies such as the International Union for Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) and the Union for African Population Studies (UAPS), for example have held international conferences and published papers and books on population and related areas (Gerenne 2011), providing research evidence from population studies and the wider disciplines of related social sciences. The presence of other international associations and bodies, government officials, policy makers, non-governmental organizations at such gatherings ensures sustained interest in research evidence for development planning.

Indeed, migration, both internal and international, has consequences for migrants, their origin and destination communities economically, socially and politically. The communities at the origin and destination of migrants, civil societies, institutions such as health and educational institutions and governments, and many more are affected by the processes of migration in several ways. As noted by the United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs:

Today, virtually all countries in the world are simultaneously countries of destination, origin and transit for international migrants. Traditional migration patterns are complemented by new migratory flows, fuelled by changing economic, demographic, political and social conditions. Changing migration patterns affect the size and composition of migrant populations as well as economies and societies in countries of origin and destination (www.undesa.org).

The impact of migration on national security has also received the attention of many states, especially those which have admitted individuals or groups as asylum seekers, refugees or displaced persons. Public opinion, apprehension about association of crime with migration in recent years have influenced what some governments have now as their stand on admission of immigrants, even asylum seekers and refugees (Tallmeister, 2013). Regarding internal migration, rapid urbanization in the face of stagnant economic growth and resulting urban poverty and overcrowding in urban landscapes of many developing countries has also resulted in

dwindling urban advantage for human development outcomes (Fotso et al., 2007) and rising cost of provision of infrastructure and amenities in urban areas (Yankson et al., 2005). Subsequently, urban development planners in the developing world have to resort to migration research evidence. In Ghana for example, survey of internal and international migration was published in 1995 on account of the then emerging challenges of migration to development: rapid urbanization consequences such as widening gaps in demand for and supply of infrastructure and amenity, increasing levels of urban poverty resulting from high rates of rural-urban migration, with high natural increase rates in urban centres and exodus of skilled labour, particularly in the health and educational sectors (Ghana Statistical Service, 1995). Development planners in countries all over the world need migration statistics to address the challenges of migration.

The benefits that can be derived from the management of migration have also been important reasons that underscore the increasing attention being paid to migration in development planning. The GFMD and other fora that offer opportunity for consensus building efforts at the global level reiterate that mutual benefits for sending and receiving countries as well as the migrants themselves can be achieved while the costs of migration are reduced. The appropriateness of the theme for the 2015 GFMD - “Strengthening Partnerships: Human Mobility for Sustainable Development”- cannot be overemphasized. The contribution of migration data from research and other sources such as censuses, surveys and administrative procedures towards the achievement of these goals is crucial.

Migration Research: Progress and Prospects

Today, migration research is deemed relevant to development policy in many countries more than ever before, even in countries that have no comprehensive migration policy. The development agenda of the global community has already been informed by activities such as the United Nations sponsored Coordination Meeting on International Migration. The thirteenth of this meeting considered the progress in integrating migration into the post-2015 United Nations development agenda. It also discussed ways to leverage migration within the renewed framework on financing for development, among other activities and recognizes the benefits of migration to development (www.unesa.org). With such a step taken, the implementation of the sustainable goals will be an opportunity for migration research

to flourish as policy makers and development practitioners will have to depend, more than ever before, on research evidence for this purpose.

The IOM's "World Migration Report" will continue to be among the top sources of data and information that can support research-evidence based policy adoption and development practice that pays attention to migration. The 2015 report titled "Migrants and Cities: New Partnerships to manage Mobility", the eighth in the series highlights the growing evidence of potential benefits of all migration and mobility of all kinds for city growth and development (<http://publications.iom.int/bookstore>). The report also notes some innovative ways in which migration and urbanization policies can be designed for the benefit of migrants and cities. Such publication can encourage policy makers and city mayors in particular to have interest in migration data and research evidence in management of migration and urbanization specifically and general development as most countries now have more than half of their total national population residing in urban areas.

A joint publication by the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) seeks to close the knowledge gap in evidence-base on international migration and its linkages to development. Its 2013 report, "World Migration in Figures", has indicated that in 2013, South-South migrants almost equaled South-North migrants, with 6 out of every 10 of the migrants under the age of 20 years of age resided in developing countries. Also, the proportion of female migrants ranged from 52 percent in the global North to 43 percent in the global South (<http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm>). Such information like many others published recently challenges the persistent widely-held misconceptions that most migrants from the Global South seek greener pastures in the Global North and that males dominate international migration streams. Adepoju (2012) has also provided evidence indicating that a higher volume of African international migrants move to destinations within Africa, contrary to the widely-held notion that most of them move to developed countries or the Global North.

An inter-agency group known as Global Migration Group (GMG) is also actively involved in international migration and related issues. The main concern of the GMG is the effectiveness of its members in responding to the challenges presented by international migration by capitalizing on opportunities. It has developed a handbook titled "Mainstreaming Migration into

Development Planning: A Handbook for Policy-makers and Practitioners” (www.unesa.org). The membership of the GMG consists of 16 organizations that are actively involved in international migration and related issues.

These recent activities and initiatives being undertaken by agencies and other bodies and experts in the field of migration studies are indications that migration is assuming a central position in global agenda for development and related areas. The agencies play leading role in global development planning and practice and related research too and should therefore be expected to promote requisite migration research in a wide variety of areas.

The developments in some topical issues and methods in migration research must also be noted. New approaches and understanding of some areas have been documented in the corpus of migration literature. For lack of space, just a few can be discussed here even though several others that cannot be examined now are equally important.

Remittance Research

Remittance research is perhaps the area given the greatest attention by researchers in the field of migration so far. Interest in remittance research has been sustained by the attempts being made by governments and policy makers to put migration on their development agenda. This development is founded on the premise that financial remittances now exceed Overseas Development Assistance in some countries (Ratha, 2014). Remittances constitute a large percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of many migrant sending countries. While macro remittance statistics provide evidence for many governments to accept that migration contributes to development, the mechanisms by which the flow of remittance and its consumption take place have not been adequately captured in migration research. Two recent research approaches are discussed in the succeeding sections.

Matching Samples and Multi-Sited Research on Migrant Remittances

Recent remittance research studies examine how migrants engage with their social networks (families, friends and others) at their origin usually by means of sending remittances to them. Some of these studies employ innovative multi-sited matched sampling technique instead of the one-sited conventional survey method to examine economic exchanges between

migrants and their networks. An example is Osili's (2012) study on Nigerian migrants in Chicago, United States of America and their Ibo community in south-eastern Nigeria. The study used mixed research methods, the qualitative approach involving a small number of participants. It generated highly detailed information on the transfer of remittances and related issues from informal discussions and conversations. Some of the details could not have been easily captured by means of qualitative interview guide, according to the researcher. The migrants at the destination (Chicago) were selected from the Chicago area telephone directory where distinctly Ibo names were found. The sample was restricted to the Ibo of south-eastern Nigeria to ensure ease in locating the family of the migrants in Nigeria. The findings indicate three purposes of remittances from the migrants: family, investment related and community. The disaggregation, according to the researcher, could not have been easily achieved by means of quantitative surveys. Further findings indicate that building a house in the home country, rather than having savings in a bank, is a status symbol of success for the migrant. A liquid asset may not be conspicuous to community members. Again remittances are sources of social protection for the migrants. While remittances support household income, it serves several purposes for migrants.

Osili's research findings can guide policy makers who seek to direct remittances into infrastructural development at the macro level. Infrastructural development is not a priority among the migrants studied as they desire to invest in estate development first to establish their success symbolically. Governments should then aim at leveraging migrant remittances not only for macro level development but for purposes such as symbolic status acquisition among migrants.

Reverse remittances

Studies on the flow of remittances as one directional activity have been questioned by Mazzucato's (2011) study on Ghanaians in Holland and their networks in Ghana. She designed her study to investigate the flows of tangible (material) and intangible services rendered to migrants by their networks (family, friends and other) at their origin, using qualitative research techniques. She noted that migrants also benefit in several ways as they keep ties with their origin, living as transnational migrants. She identified care for left-behind children of migrants [and their aged parents], supervision of building projects of migrants such as house(s) and business

as services that are rendered to migrants in their origin community by their networks. Furthermore, she noted, migrants' family and networks assist them by securing documents for them as they process papers abroad. For example, migrants sometimes need some additional documents than what they have with them abroad to apply for residential and work permit in order to regularize their status. She further added that migrants' networks in Ghana receive prayers for them from religious leaders. Adiku and Anamzoya in chapter 11 of this volume have also discussed the patriarchal norms that have remained and are associated with the practice whereby some men send money regularly to their wives and children living abroad.

Mazzucato noted that the two-way flow of remittances ensures peace of mind for the migrants and contribute to their productivity. It may be concluded that it is for social protection from reverse remittances that transnational migrants such as those in Mazzucato's study keep their ties with the origin. As governments seek to provide social protection for their citizens who live abroad promoting reverse remittance practice among networks of Ghanaian migrants should be one of the policy options for achieving that.

Web Survey

A research study by Mwangi (2014) on Kenyan migrants was conducted in four countries- Ghana, United Kingdom, Canada and United States of America by means of a survey technique known as web survey. The technique involves snow-balling multifaceted e-recruiting through social media websites of the migrants. The cost of conducting the research in the four countries is far lower than the amount that would have been required for travel to all the four sites in the four countries. Despite the biases that may be introduced into the selection of participants in terms of the selection process (and possibly, misreporting), the technique is cost-effective. It also provides an enabling environment for participants, especially undocumented migrants, to express themselves more freely than they would have done when face-to-face interviews are conducted with them.

Mwangi's work suggests that the difficulty in studying irregular migrants can be overcome when the participants are not brought into contact with the researcher. They may find the web survey technique assuring them greater confidentiality than when participating in face-to-face interviews.

Anecdotal information in Ghana suggests that households are reluctant to disclose to information about their members who reside abroad to enumerators at censuses and interviewers at surveys, even when the migrants are documented. With the web survey, data on emigrants (both documented and undocumented) can be more easily gathered even from the migrants themselves. The web survey may prove to be a solution to the difficulty of reaching some flows of migrants such as the undocumented and migrants who desire to hide or protect their identity.

Some progress has been made towards employing innovative methods for migration research. The foregoing discussion on a few shows what has been achieved by researchers who are interested in innovative migration research. Integrating migration into development planning can be expected to be supported by evidence from more innovative research in future as greater attention is paid to migration and its research.

Conclusion

Migration and its research were neglected in development planning and practice until toward the end of the 20th Century when it begun to receive attention from policy makers and development planners. The search for alternative approaches to development in the 1990s was the main factor associated with the identification of a relationship between migration and development and migrants as agents of development. Even then, migration was not included in the MDGs. Several initiatives have however led to the recognition of migration in the new development agenda- the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Interest in migration has increased considerably over the past two decades; and migration research can be expected to flourish in the post-2015 era. The human rights imperative contained in much of the post-2015 proposals (Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2013), when upheld, will require that implementation of the SDGs be based on research evidence. Migrants, more than any other group of persons, need protection from human rights violation. International reforms that seek to ensure better management of migration and national policies addressing internal migration issues should be based on research evidence.

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Migration has assumed growing significance in the global development agenda as its potential for economic and social development is increasingly acknowledged. Within the Africa context, perceptions of migration as a negative phenomenon have shifted to recognition of its central role to Africa's transformation. Despite this shift, emerging migration dynamics have not been adequately contextualized and conceptualized, making it difficult to integrate migration into development planning processes. This book attempts to fill the gaps in migration knowledge production, particularly from the perspectives of researchers in the global south and more specifically from Ghana. The chapters provide multidisciplinary perspectives in the contemporary migration landscape in Ghana and Africa. Rather than focus on migration as a problem to be solved, the chapters explore migration as an intrinsic part of the broader processes of structural change in Ghana, which could create opportunities for development if properly harnessed. This reader is an essential resource for migration and development researchers, students, policy makers, practitioners and others interested in the field of development.



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